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THE
PRECEPTOR;
OR,
GENERAL REPOSITORY
OF USEFUL INFORMATION,
VERY NECESSARY
FOR THE VARIOUS AGES AND DIFFERENT
DEPARTMENTS OF LIFE.

Containing, among other Subjects,
Natural and Moral Philosophy, History and Elo-
quence, Lives of the most illustrious Men in all
Ages, with various Pieces of salutary Advice to
the British Youth.

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I. *The Being of God proved from the Frame of
the material World.*

THE mind of man, by attending to its own constitution, and to the state and appearances of the world, is naturally led to an inquiry concerning the origin and causes of things, the proper measures of its own conduct, with the consequences of them, and to future events, as far as it can attain the knowledge of them : that is, to an inquiry concerning God and religion.

When a man, endued with all the vital, sensitive, and intellectual powers which belong to his nature, and arrived at the perfect exercise of them, with a competent knowledge of himself, and the various relations and uses of things about him.

When, I say, he deliberately views the obvious face of Nature ; when he beholds the vast expanse of heaven, the glorious light of the sun, and by it a numberless multitude of other objects, many of which he knows by his senses, his appetites, his affections and experience, are in different ways useful to him and to each other ; reflecting at the same time on his own being, his various powers and perceptions, one would think he could scarcely avoid such inquiries as these.

Whence am I, and by what power produced ? whence all these beings with which I see myself surrounded ? As I have no other knowledge of my ex-

B

istence,

istence, nor any other way to judge of its duration, than by conscious perception, I must conclude, that some time ago I was not, for I had no consciousness nor perception of any thing.

How then is this wonderful transition from non-existence into being to be accounted for? Is it to be attributed to a superior designing cause; and has that same mighty intelligent cause formed all those other beings I perceive, which by their appearances seem to be related to each other and to me, so as to make up one intire system? But now that I find myself in such a situation, what am I to do?

There are instincts in my nature which prompt me to various actions and enjoyments: I am furnished with the instruments of sensation and motion; I see, and hear, and taste, and smell, and feel; I can move the organs of my own body, and by them some other bodies, merely by an act of my own will, or the voluntary exertion of an inward self-determining power.

I have hunger and thirst at certain returning seasons, and am readily supplied with meat and drink, whereby this body is nourished and sensibly refreshed.

This is common with me to a multitude of living things, in different shapes, with which the earth is stored: but I find in myself the powers of reason, and higher affections, whereof these inferior creatures give no discovery, which leads me to conclude there is a nobler end of my being, and I am capable of a greater happiness.

I can reflect, compare my own perceptions of things, and inquire into their origin and tendencies; I perceive at first view some truths, and they give me pleasure; I investigate others by a deliberate attention to my own ideas, and to their agreement and relations, still with a growing satisfaction.

I am

I am conscious of liberty, or a freedom of choice, and the ideas of right and wrong in action naturally occur to me; I must therefore be directed in my conduct by a regard to that difference.

I find benevolence to sensitive beings, especially those of my own kind, naturally arise in my mind, together with reverence and gratitude to superior nature, the supposed author of my existence and of all my enjoyments, which affections, as they are reflected on with delightful self-approbation, a more excellent enjoyment than any sensible object can yield, so they are accompanied with a desire to please that superior Being, and be approved by him.

But how shall I continue possessed of existence, with all the variety of enjoyment that belongs to it, which is so very desirable: and since experience convinces me that the present life is frail, and has in it a mixture of unhappiness, what prospect have I of a future state, (for the thoughts of falling again into nothing fill my mind with horror) and how shall I attain to the highest perfection I am capable of.

For it plainly appears that, at least, the nobler powers of my nature may admit of a more various exercise than the present, and a further improvement. All that is possible for me to do, as an intelligent agent, whereby I may contribute to my own happiness, and answer the end of my being, is to follow the guidance of my own reason, and what nature points to, considering the whole of my constitution, and preserving the just subordination of its lower, to its superior parts: and for the continuance of my being, and what additional felicity I may desire to expect, I must hope in the same Supreme Power and goodness to which I owe all that is now in my possession.

If these are the enquiries and the sentiments which the mind of man, unbiassed by any prejudices

or prepossessions, would naturally fall into, (and whether they are or not let any one judge, who carefully attends even to the most obvious appearances in the human constitution) we may consider whether they are not very becoming us. It is true we grow up to the exercise of our reason gradually: The first part of life is passed over with very little reflection; the world is become familiar to us; we have learned the use of things, and opinions concerning them, which engage our assent and our affections before we come to that maturity of understanding which is necessary to qualify us for a thorough and rational examination. But neither the familiarity contracted with our own existence and the world, (we cannot but be sensible that our knowledge of both is of no long standing) nor any prejudice we may have received in a childish immature state should divert us, when we have attained to the full use of our reason, from attending such important inquiries, which the least self-reflection will shew to be every way worthy of men, whether our inquiries will rationally end in religion, founded on the belief of a Deity, is what I am now to consider. This, however, seems to be the plainest and most natural way of attaining satisfaction in that great point; for by the Deity we mean the powerful, wise, and good parent of mankind, the maker, preserver, and ruler of the world, and how shall we know him but by the characters of his perfections stamped upon his works.

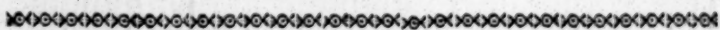
It is certain, the belief of a Deity has generally obtained among mankind, excepting the objects of the mind's immediate intuition and of sense, concerning which there can be no dispute; excepting these, I say, perhaps there is not any one point to which men have more universally given an explicit assent than the being of God. This is thought by some to be a strong presumption in its favour; for they

they alledge, nothing but the clear irrefragable evidence of truth could have induced all nations of the world to agree in it. As to vulgar opinions acknowledged to be erroneous in other points, such as the magnitude and distance of the heavenly bodies, the case is very different; for there the error plainly arises from inattention, and forming a judgment too hastily upon the report of sense, concerning appearances which it cannot examine. But in such a point of speculation as the existence of the Deity, to the knowledge of which we are led by our own most obvious reflections, and which the more it is attended to, the more firmly it is believed; an uniform agreement seems to proceed from the voice of Nature, or God himself speaking intelligibly to every nation by his works. There is, undoubtedly, in the human mind, a knowledge of things which are not the objects of sense; nay in many instances reason corrects sense, and discovers its mistakes: indeed the greatest certainty we have is in the clear perception of an agreement between our own abstract ideas; so that a concurring persuasion concerning propositions formed of such ideas, and concerning rational deductions from them, has the best appearance of being founded on truth, because in them men are least obnoxious to deception.

There have been however some, very few of mankind in comparison, who have professedly denied the being of God, and pretended to account for the formation of the world, and all the phenomena of nature, without him. These men ridicule the common belief as superstitious, proceeding wholly from ignorance of causes, political fiction, customary tradition, or the passion of fear, which often produces groundless imaginations. I may afterwards have occasion to examine these pretences: In the mean time, without resting this first principle of all religion on the presumption in its favour,

taken from the general consent of mankind, or any other presumptions however strong, I shall proceed directly to establish it by clear evidence of reason, in the method which appears to me the most simple and natural.

Abernethy, vol. i. p. 1—8.



II. *An Ode to Jehovah.*

By Sir RICHARD BLACKMORE.

I.

HEAR, O ye Heavens, ye constellations hear,
 And thou attentive Earth give ear :
 Whirlwinds be gone, asleep ye tempests lie,
 Nor let ye gloomy clouds that float on high
 Your thunder bellow, or your lightnings fly :
 And thou, O ocean, peace command,
 Let all thy list'ning waves erected stand
 In chrystal heaps, as when the splitting tide
 Sav'd threaten'd Jacob from Egyptian pride :
 Be each extended vale, and rising hill,
 As midnight hush'd, and as the desert still,
 Whilst I of Seraphs emulous, rehearse
 Almighty wonders in extatic verse.

II.

Hail independent, perfect excellence !
 Of pure immortal light, abyfs immense !
 This, and the orbs around on thee depend,
 From thee they came, in thee they end ;
 Thou, Lord of Lords, thou King of Kings,
 Blest source whence all dominion springs,
 With glory art adorn'd, and for defence,
 Begirt with dread omnipotence.

Eternal,

Eternal, mighty, causeless God!
 Heav'n is thy court, and Bliss is thy abode;
 Nor can thy being but unchang'd endure,
 From thy own nature's self-preserving power:
 While the vast worlds that roll in air,
 And all the various equipage they bear,
 Unable beings, are upheld by thee,
 And as thou pleasest are, or cease to be.

III.

Above the regions of etherial space,
 And far extended frontier of the skies,
 Beyond the out-lines of wide Nature's face,
 Where void, not yet inclos'd, uncultivated lies,
 Jehovah, thy eternal throne,
 With unprecarious brightness ever shone,
 Rais'd by skill and energy divine,
 From thy rich unfathomable mine,
 Whose womb contains, without decay,
 Exhaustless veins of light, and glittering seeds of day;
 A throne whose radiance cannot fade,
 Of uncreated beams, and gems immortal made.
 Pillars of vast interminable size,
 Such, none but hands omnipotent can rear,
 Which to a height insuperable rise,
 This mighty weight of glory bear;
 Pillars of adamant, transcendent bright,
 With blazing heads of fine celestial gold,
 Inwreath'd in rays of spiral light,
 Which Saints with dazzled eyes and slanting view
 behold:
 Here thou, Great King, has always sat.
 Awful, in blissful robes of state;
 Whence trains, divine profusion, all below,
 Of long unmeasurable glory flow,
 Compleatly filling every place,
 And far outstretching all imaginary space.

IV.

Collected in resistless might,
 With Majesty's bright ensigns crown'd,
 Here didst thou reign, e'er time began its flight
 Or orbs set out to run their round.

Nothing, Supreme, eternal King,
 Father of life, of love, exhaustless spring,
 Nothing could e'er thy happy state molest,
 Which ne'er grows less, or is increast;
 Fixt on thy sacred throne, thou didst possess
 An all sufficient, plenitude of blis,
 And didst unnumber'd ages past employ,
 Whilst thou in full delight didst thy blest self enjoy,
 Till thou thy goodness to display,
 Beings of various order didst create;
 To whom thy bounty might convey
 Felicity, and not thy own abate.

V.

The unfrequented provinces of night,
 By hostile motion never yet annoy'd,
 Nor yet discover'd by far trav'ling light,
 Profound tranquillity enjoy'd.
 Thro' the void regions of diffusive space,
 Unfruitful Solitude securely reign'd;
 No track appear'd on Desolation's face,
 And Silence, undisturb'd, her peaceful throne
 maintain'd;
 Till troops of matter all unknown before,
 New rais'd by High-creating Power,
 Unregimented, raw, undisciplin'd,
 Receiv'd the great command to move,
 And to intestine feuds inclin'd,
 Fiercely for conquest with each other strove.
 Confusion, strife, discordant noise,
 And horrid Uproar's hateful voice

Vex the dark regions of the deep,
 Where ancient Night her lonesome court did keep,
 And where unactive Shade extended lay asleep.

VI.

Thou necessary self-existent God,
 With one divine pacific smile,
 With one Almighty nod,
 Didst all this fierce contention reconcile.
 Obedient to the word divine,
 In friendly leagues the new allies combine;
 To their respective tasks they all repair,
 The mighty fabrick of the world to rear,
 Of Providence supreme, th' intended theatre.
 The lighter parts at thy command disjoin'd,
 Leave the dull earth, and ponderous dregs behind;
 'Twas thou didst give 'em wings, and bid 'em rise,
 Refin'd materials for the skies.
 Aloft the ethereal rudiments ascend,
 Around th' immense expansion hung,
 The spheres their vast circumference extend,
 And tune themselves preluding to their lasting
 song.
 At thy command th' unfetter'd light,
 Emerging from the dark abyss of night,
 At the appointed rendezvous on high,
 Muster'd its shining legions in the sky:
 Th' assembled beams themselves dispose,
 In glorious ranks, as thou hadst order giv'n,
 And with their separate lines compose
 All the bright squadrons of the Host of Heav'n.

VII.

Thou didst extend the waving fields of air,
 And dress the magazines of meteors there.
 How does thy chemistry divine,
 In full perfection shine

Thro'

Thro' the low regions of the atmosphere,
 Thy vast elaboratory, where
 Ærial furnaces thy curious works prepare?
 From flowers and plants beneath exhaling steams,
 Persuaded by the sun's insinuating beams,
 Forget their centre, and forsake their place,
 And mount to fill the liquid space:
 Then by thy cool alembicks chill'd,
 They soon regain their weight, and are in drops
 distill'd;

In drops of healing virtue, which revive
 The thirsty earth, and make faint nature thrive:
 The compositions for thy works of fire,
 Digested here maturity acquire;
 Thunder and lightning, thy arcana here
 Concocted ring, or flame around the air.
 The hov'ring snow descends at thy command,
 And spreads its downy fleeces o'er the land:
 Tempestuous show'rs of rushing hail

Pour'd from the crystal quarries of the sky,
 The earth's unguarded face assail,
 And on the wounds they make, they weeping lie.

VIII.

Thou Power Divine, and wisdom to display,
 The deep foundations of the earth didst lay;
 The beauteous structure frame with artful care,
 And weigh the pond'rous mass, and hang the pile
 in air.

Th' unshaken pillars which sustain it, stand
 Fixt on no base but thy upholding hand:
 Thou spak'st th' aspiring hills appear'd,
 Their everlasting heads the mountains rear'd,
 The rocks of vast unmeasur'd size,
 Obey th' impulsive word, and sprung amidst the
 skies:

The

The humble vallies now subside,
And with their wealth upbraid the fruitless moun-
tain's pride,

The starting streams begin their race,
And with their winding arms the flow'ry mead
embrace.

Now birds for flight their untry'd wings display,
Beat thro' ærial waves, and cut the liquid way.

The flocks adorn'd the hills, the herds the mead,
The bellowing bull advancing at their head.

The woods with various beasts were stor'd,
Where uncontroul'd their yellow lord

Slept in his den, or thro' the forest roar'd.

The mighty whale rolls in his weedy court,
While finny trains around their monarch sport.

More energy, and more amazing art,

In man at last thou didst exert ;

Thy God-like-creature destin'd to command

The spacious empires of the sea and land ;

Thy wide creation then review'd,

Pleas'd with thy works, thou didst pronounce them
good.

IX.

Then let the num'rous actors, which appear
In all the scenes of this bright theatre,
Rivals conspire to spread thy fame,
And thro' thy list'ning worlds thy mighty deeds
proclaim :

And thou my Muse, stretch thy ambitious wing
Swift from beneath, as rays reflected, spring,
And ravish'd thy Great Author's praises sing ;
Ardent exert thy utmost vigour, strain

Thy vocal nerves, and spend thy tuneful vein ;

Thro' all the spheres and orbs that hang around,

Thro' frontier chrystal hills, that Nature bound,

Where e'er thin air, or ether are display'd,

And far as sounding accents are convey'd,

Fir'd

Fir'd with a sacred, pure, impulsive flame
 From blest Religion's altars sprung, proclaim
 Th' Almighty's fruitful pow'r, and propagate his
 fame. }

III. *Of the Nourishment and Growth of Animals.*

LET us proceed in the next place to survey new wonders. All the animals of the Creation, as well as the plants, have their original nourishment from these simple materials, earth and water. For all the animal beings which do not live upon other animals, or the produce of them, take some of the vegetables for their food; and thus the brutes of prey are originally indebted to the plants and herbs, *i. e.* to the earth for their support, and their drink is the watery element. That all flesh is grass, is true in the literal, as well as the metaphorical sense. Does the lion eat the flesh of the lamb? Doth the lamb suck the milk of the ewe? But the ewe is nourished by the grass of the field. Does the kite devour the chicken, and the chicken the little caterpillars, or insects of the spring? But these insects are ever feeding on the tender plants, and the green products of the ground. The earth, moistened with water, is the common nurse of all: even the fishes of the sea are nourished with some green vegetables that spring up there, or by preying on lesser fishes which feed on these vegetables.

But let us give our meditations a loose on this entertaining subject, and we shall find numerous instances of wonder in this scene of Divine contrivance.

What very different animals are nourished by the same vegetable food! The self-same herbage, or
 fruits

fruits of the earth, by the divine laws of Nature and Providence, are converted into animated bodies of very distinct kinds. Could you imagine that half the fowls of the air, as different as they are, from the crow to the tit-mouse, should derive their flesh and blood from the productions of the same tree, where the swine watches under the boughs of it, and is nourished by the droppings of the fruit? Nor need I stay to take notice what numerous insects find their nests and their food all the summer season from the same apples or apricots, plumbs or cherries, which feed hogs and crows, and a hundred small birds. Would you think that the black and the brindled kine, with the horses both grey and bay, should clothe themselves with their hairy skins, of so various colours, out of the same green pasture where the sheep feeds, and covers himself with his white and woolly fleece? And at the same time the goose is cropping part of the grass to nourish its own flesh, and to array itself with down and feathers. Strange and stupendous texture of the bodies of these creatures, that should convert the common green herbage of the field into their different natures, and their more different clothing! But this leads me to another remark.

What exceeding great diversity is found in the several parts, limbs, and coverings, even of the same creature! An animated body is made up of flesh and blood, bones and membranes, long hollow tubes, with a variety of liquors contained in them, together with many strings and tendons, and a thousand other things which escape the naked sight, and for which anatomy has hardly found a name: Yet the very same food is, by the wondrous skill and appointment of the God of Nature, formed into all these amazing differences. Let us take an ox to pieces, and survey the wondrous composition. Besides the flesh of this huge living structure, and the bones

bones on which it is built, what variety of tender coats and humours belong to that admirable organ the eye? How solid and hard are the teeth which grind the food? How firm the general ligaments that tie the joints of that creature together? What horny hoofs are his support, and with what different sort of horny weapons has Nature furnished his forehead? Yet they are all framed of the same grassy materials: The calf grazes upon the verdant pasture, and all its limbs and powers grow up out of the food to the size and firmness of an ox. Can it be supposed that all these corpuscles, of which the several inward and outward parts of the brute are composed, are actually found in their different and proper forms in the vegetable food? Does every spire of grass actually contain the specifick parts of the horn and the hoof, the teeth and the tendons, the glands and membranes, the humours and coats of the eye, the liquids and solids, with all their innumerable varieties in their proper distinct forms? This is a most unreasonable supposition and vain philosophy. No, it is the wisdom of the God of Nature that distributes this uniform food into the several parts of the animal by his appointed laws, and gives proper nourishment to each of them.

If the food of which one single animal partakes be never so various and different, yet the same laws of motion, which God has ordained in the animal world, convert them all to the same purposes of nourishment for that creature. Behold the little bee gathering its honey from a thousand flowers, and laying up the precious store for its winter food. Mark how the crow preys upon a carcass, anon it crops a cherry from the tree; and both are changed into the flesh and feathers of a crow. Observe the kine in the meadows feeding on a hundred variety of herbs and flowers, yet all the different parts of their bodies are nourished thereby in a proper manner:

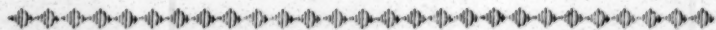
ner : Every flower in the field is made use of to increase the flesh of the heifer, and to make beef for men : and out of all these varieties there is a noble milky juice flowing to the udder, which provides nourishment for young children.

So near a-kin is man the lord of the creation, in respect of his body, to the brutes that are his slaves, that the very same food will compose the flesh of both of them, and make them grow up to their appointed stature. This is evident, beyond doubt, in daily and everlasting experiments. The same bread-corn which we eat at our tables will give rich support to sparrows and pigeons, to the turkey and the duck, and all the fowls of the yard : The mouse steals it, and feeds on it in his dark retirements, while the hog in the sty, and the horse in the manger, would be glad to partake. When the poor cottager has nursed up a couple of geese, the fox seizes one of them for the support of her cubs, and perhaps the table of the landlord is furnished with the other to regale his friends : Nor is it an uncommon thing to see the favourite lap-dog fed out of the same bowl of milk which is prepared for the heir of a wealthy family, but which Nature had originally designed to nourish a calf. The same milky material will make calves, lap-dogs, and human bodies.

How various are our dishes at an entertainment ? how has luxury even tired itself in the invention of meats and drinks in an excessive and endless variety ? Yet when they pass into the common boiler of the stomach, and are carried thence through the intestines, there is a white juice strained out of the strange mixture called chyle, which from the lacteal vessels is conveyed into the blood, and by the laws of nature is converted into the same crimson liquor. This being distributed through all the body by the arteries, is further strained again through the proper vessels,

vessels, and becomes the spring of nourishment to every different part of the animal. Thus the God of Nature has ordained, that how diverse soever our meats are, they shall first be reduced to a uniform milky liquid, that by new contrivances and Divine art it may be again diversified into flesh and bones, nerves and membranes.

How conspicuous, and yet how admirable are the operations of Divine Wisdom in this single instance of nourishment! But it is no wonder that a God who could create such astonishing and exquisite pieces of machinery as plants and animals, could prescribe such laws to matter and motion as to nourish and preserve the individuals, as well as to propagate the species through all ages to the end of time.



IV. *A Philosophical Contemplation on the Changes of Matter.*

PERhaps it may not be amiss to follow a track of pleasing amusement, which by a very easy and natural inference arises from the subject in hand, and which was very happily represented in a late conversation among some of the great and the wise. Theron, a man of wealth and figure, but unacquainted with philosophic science, sat in the midst of his friends, of both sexes, in a stately room, with rich variety of furniture.

Among other conversation, Theron was complaining, that he had heard it often said how much we were indebted to the country and the plough; but for his part he knew no obligation that we had to the lower rank of mankind, whose life is taken up in the fields, the woods, and the meadows, but
that

that they paid their rents well, that the gentlemen might live at their ease. Crito was pleased to seize the occasion, and entertained the gay audience with a surprising lecture of philosophy.

Permit me, Theron, said he, to be an advocate for the peasant, and I can draw up a long account of particulars, for which you are indebted to the field and the forest, and to the men that cultivate the ground, and are engaged in rural business. Look around you on all the elegant furniture of the room, survey your own cloathing, cast your eyes on all the splendid array of Therina and Persis, and the other ladies near them, and you will find, that, except a few glittering stones, and a little gold and silver which was dug out of the bowels of the earth, you can scarce see any thing that was not once growing green upon the ground, through the various labours of the planter and the plowman. Whence came the floor you tread on, part whereof is inlaid with wood of different colours? Whence these fair pannels of wainscot, and the cornish that encompasses and adorns the room? Whence this lofty roof of cedar, and the carved ornaments of it? Are they not all the spoils of the trees of the forest? Were not these once the verdant standards of the grove or the mountain? What are your hangings of gay tapestry? are they not owing to the fleece of the sheep which borrowed their nourishment from the grass of the meadows? Thus the finery of your parlour once was grass; and should you favour me with a turn into your bed-chamber, I could shew you that the curtains and the linen, and the costly coverings where you take your nightly repose, was some years ago all growing in the field.

But I need not retire from the room where we are seated, to give you abundant discoveries of this truth. Is not the hair of camels a part of the materials which compose those rich curtains which

hang down by the window, and the easy chairs which accommodate your friends? and if you think a little, you will find that camels, with their hair, were made of grafs, as well as the sheep and their wool. I confefs the chimney and the coals, with the implements of the hearth, the brafs and iron, were dug out of the ground from their beds of different kinds, and you muft go below the furface of the earth to fetch them. But what think you of thofe nice tables of Mofaic work? they confefs the foreft their parent. What are the books which lie in the window, and the little implements of paper and wax, pens and wafers, which I prefume may be found in the efcutore? And may I not add to thefe, that inch of wax candle, which ftands ready to feal a letter, or perhaps to light a pipe?

You muft grant they have all the fame original, they were once mere vegetables. Paper and books owe their being to the tatters of linen, which was woven of the threads of flax and hemp: the pafte-board covers are compofed of paper, and the leather is the fkin of the calf that drew its life and fufenance from the meadows. The pen that you write with was plucked from the wings of the goofe, which lives upon the grafs of the common: The inkhorn was borrowed from the front of the grazing ox; the wafer is made of the pafte of bread corn; the fealing-wax is faid to be formed chiefly of the gum of a tree, and the wax for the candle is originally plundered from the bee, who ftole it out of a thoufand flowers.

Permit me, ladies, faid the philofopher, to mention your drefs; too nice a fubject indeed for a fcholar to pretend any skill in it: But I perfuade myfelf your candour will not refent my naming the rich materials, fince I leave thofe more important points, the fafhion and the air, to be decided entirely

tirely by your superior skill. Shall I inquire then, who gave Persis the silken habit which she wears? Did she not borrow it from the worm that spun those shining threads? And whence did the worm borrow it but from the leaves of the mulberry tree, which was planted and nourished for this purpose by the country swain? May I ask again, how came Therina by those ornaments of fine linen which she is pleased to appear in, and the costly lace of Flanders that surrounds it? Was it not all made of the stalks of flax that grew up in the field like other vegetables? And are not the finest of your muslins owing to the Indian cotton tree? Nor can you tell me, Theron, one upper garment you have, whether coat, cloak, or night-gown, from your shoulders to your very feet, as rich and as new as you think it, which the sheep or the poor silk-worm had not worn before you. It is certain, the beaver bore your hat on his skin; that soft fur was his covering before it was yours; and the materials of your very shoes, both the upper part and the soles of them, covered the calf or the heifer, before they were put on your feet: all this was grass at first, for we have seen that all the animal world owes its being to vegetables.

The company seemed strangely surprized, and thought they had been led into Fairy land; they imagined themselves decoyed into the midst of enchantments, while their fancy roved through all these transformations: Yet the discourse seemed to carry such evidence and conviction with it, that though they retained their wonder, they could not withhold their assent.

When Crito had given them leave to muse a little, he took up the argument again. Give me leave Madam, said he to Therina, without offence, to lead you into further wonders. You have seen that the furniture of the place where we are, as

well as the precious attire in which you are drest, were lately the productions, and the ornaments of the forest, the meadow or the garden. But could you forgive me, Madam, if I should attempt to persuade you, that that beautiful body of yours, those features and those limbs, were once growing also in the fields and the meadows? I see, lady, you are a little shocked and surprized at the thought. I confess the ideas and sentiments of philosophy are not always so courtly and so favourable to human nature as to be addressed to the tender sex: But pardon me, Therina, if I inquire: Was not your infancy nursed with milk and bread-corn? Have you not been fed with wheat, though it was of the finest kind? and your drink, what has it been but either the infusion of barley, or the juice of the grape, or for variety, perhaps the cyder-grove has supplied you? The flesh with which you have been nourished to such a well-proportioned stature belonged to four-footed animals, or to the fowls of the air; and each of these have either been fed with corn or grass: Whence then, Madam, has your own body been supported, and what do you think it is made of?

But it is safer to transfer the argument to myself. These limbs of mine, Therina, owe themselves entirely to the animal or vegetable food, to the roots or the stalks, to the leaves or the fruit of plants, or to the flesh of brute creatures which have passed through my mouth for these fifty years, or the mouths of my parents before me: This hand would have been worn to a mere skeleton, my arms had been dry bones, and my trunk and ribs the statue of death, had they not all received perpetual recruits from the field. These lips which now address you are of the same materials, and they were once growing like the grass of the earth. This very flesh which I call mine now, did belong

to the sheep or the ox, before it was a part of me ; and it served to cloath their bones before it covered mine. You know, Theron, you are a gentleman who delight in rural sports when you reside at your country-seat, and you love to feast on the game that you have pursued. Did you ever suppose that any part of yourself was once hurried through the air in the breast of a frightened partridge, which came before night into your net ? or that any piece of you was ever driven through the fields before the full-mouthed hounds, on the legs of a hunted hare, which was the next day prepared for your table ? Had you ever so strange a thought as this is ? And can you believe it now ? or upon a survey of my argument, can you tell how to deny it ? And what are hares and partridges made of but growing herbage or shattered corn.

It is true, you have sometimes tasted of fish, either from the sea or the rivers, but even these in their original also are a sort of grass ; they have been fed partly by sea-weeds, and partly by lesser fish which they have devoured, whose prime and natural nourishment was from some vegetable matter in the watry world. In short, Sir, I am free to declare, that whether I have eaten cheese or butter, bread or milk ; whether I have fed on the ox or the sheep, or the fowls of the air, or the fish of the sea, I am certain that this body, and these limbs of mine, even to my teeth and nails, and the hairs of my head, are all borrowed originally from the vegetable creation. Every thing of me that is not a thinking power, that is not mind or spirit, was once growing like grass on the ground, or was made of the roots which supported some green herbage.

And now, Theron, what think you of all these paradoxes ? which of them do you cavil at ? which leaves you room for doubt or question ? Is not phi-

loſophy an entertaining ſtudy, that teaches us our original, and theſe aſtoniſhing operations of Divine wiſdom and providence? But it teaches us alſo to have humble thoughts of ourſelves, and to remember whence we came.

Theron, to conclude the diſcourſe, confeſſed his ſurprize and conviction; he acknowledged the juſtice of Crito's whole argument, gave him hearty thanks for his inſtructive lecture, and reſolved to remember theſe amazing ſcenes of the operations of Nature, and the adorable wiſdom of God his maker: Nor ſhall I ever forget, ſaid he, the ſtrange and unſuſpected dependance of man on all the meaner parts of the creation. I am convinced that pride was never made for man, when I ſee how much a-kin his body is to the fowls of the air and brutes of the earth: And I think, ſaid he, I am more indebted to my tenants than ever I could have imagined; nor will I caſt ſuch a ſcornful eye again on the grazier and the farmer, ſince this fleſh and blood of mine, as well as the furniture of my houſe, and the cloaths I wear, were once growing in the fields or the woods under their care or cultivation; and I find I am nearer a-kin to them, ſince this ſelf of mine, with all the finery that covers it, was made originally of the ſame materials with them and their coarſer coverings.

V. *Fire, Air, Earth, and Sea, praise ye the Lord.*

Dr. WATT S's LYRICS.

I.

EARTH, thou great foot-stool of our God
 Who reigns on high ; thou fruitful source
 Of all our raiment, life and food,
 Our house, our parent, and our nurse.
 Mighty stage of mortal scenes,
 Drest with strong and gay machines,
 Hung with golden lamps around,
 And flow'ry carpets spread the ground.
 Thou bulky globe, prodigious mass,
 That hangs unpillar'd in an empty space,
 While thy unwieldy weight rests on the feeble air,
 Bless that Almighty word that fix'd and holds thee
 there,

II.

Fire, thou swift herald of his face,
 Whose glorious rage at his command,
 Levels a palace with the sand,
 Blending the lofty spires in ruin with the base.
 Ye heav'nly flames that singe the air,
 Artillery of a jealous God.—
 Bright arrows that his sounding quivers bear,
 To scatter deaths abroad.
 Lightnings, adore the Sovereign arm that flings
 His vengeance, and your fires, upon the heads of
 Kings.

III.

Thou vital element, the air,
 Whose boundless magazines of breath

Our fainting flame of life repair,
 And save the bubble, man, from the cold arms of
 death :
 And ye whose vital moisture yields
 Life's purple stream, and fresh supply
 Sweet waters, wand'ring thro' the flow'ry fields,
 Or dropping from the sky ;
 Confess the Power whose all-sufficient name,
 Nor needs your aid to build, or to support our
 frame.

IV.

Now the rude air, with noisy force,
 Beats up and swells the angry sea,
 They join to make our lives a prey,
 And sweep the sailor's hopes away,
 Vain hopes, to reach their kindred and the shores !
 Lo, the wild seas and surging waves,
 Gape hideous in a thousand graves ;
 Be still ye floods, and know your bounds of sand,
 Ye storms adore your Master's hand,
 The winds are in his fist, the waves at his command.

V.

From the eternal emptiness,
 His fruitful word by secret springs
 Drew the whole harmony of things,
 That form this noble universe :
 Old Nothing knew his pow'rful hand,
 Scarce had he spoke his full command,
 Fire, Air, and Earth, and Sea, heard the creating
 call,
 And leapt from empty Nothing to this beauteous
 All,
 And still they dance, and still obey,
 The orders they receiv'd the great Creation day.

VI. On

VI. *On the Importance and Certainty of Moral Philosophy.*

Morality being nothing else but the knowledge and practice of these things that concern man as a moral agent, a being endowed with understanding, and liberty of choice, capable of acting in a reasonable manner, that is, in a manner suitable to the dignity of his nature, and his rank and station in the universe, and thereby contributing to his own happiness, and that of his fellow-creatures, cannot, from this general idea of it, be supposed to be an idle or intricate speculation, a mere amusement of the mind, of little or no use in life, presenting us only with ingenious hypotheses, and spacious conjectures, and better fitted to engage a man in endless doubts and perplexities, than to settle him in a state of solid and lasting satisfaction. On the contrary, morality is of the utmost importance to all mankind, lies level to the apprehensions of the weakest minds, that are but sincere and well-disposed, and is attended with all the certainty that any impartial and considerate person can desire.

It is of the utmost importance to all mankind. If there be any thing that deserves the name of importance, if it be not a thing indifferent in what state of mind, and condition of life a man finds himself, whether his being is a pleasure or a burthen to him, his faculties are used or not used, employed right or wrong, whether he enjoys life or suffers it, is in favour with his Maker, and with himself, and approved by other intelligent beings, or at war with the whole world; if there be a difference in these things, the importance of morality, which instructs us to observe this difference, and to conduct ourselves by it, must be undeniable.

The

The importance of morality is just the same as that of happiness, with which it hath an immediate and necessary connexion. All men desire happiness, the inclination sticks close, and is never to be put off. And, in general, they are not wrong in their notion of happiness, apprehending it to be a state which hath no good wanting to it, no evil mingled with it; and the nearer any state approaches this idea of perfection, the happier it is; but when they come to particulars, as they must do, in order to act rationally and consistently, they are extremely divided. Now the design of morality is to unite the distracted opinions of mankind in one uniform invariable idea of happiness, to lead them to the enjoyments in which it is to be found, and to direct to the means for the attainment of it; their interest both in the present and future state of their existence depends upon it: Without some observation of its rules there could be no society, or none but what was worse than solitude; virtue is the cement that makes the union, in greater or lesser combinations, from a community consisting of many millions, down to a friendship between two single persons, delightful and lasting; and it supplies the sweetest pleasures, and most exalted entertainments of retired life. In the conduct of his actions, the wise man, rejecting fancy and passion, and example, fetches all his measures from hence. It was this led Monsieur Rapin to conjecture, that the dæmon of Socrates was nothing else than his knowledge of morality, an habitual prudence, which he had gained by his experience of things, and his reflections on their events, in which he was seldom mistaken. This character of his prudence is confirmed by Xenophon, who saith in praise of it, that he never erred in his judgment of what he was to choose or reject, and needed not any one's assistance herein, being self-sufficient in this sort of knowledge.

ledge. Had the poet carried the same justness of thinking into every part of the doctrine of morals that he discovers in some parts of it, and acted up to the account he gives of himself, none of the philosophers, not even Socrates himself, would have surpassed him. *Horace, lib. I. epist 1.*

If you believe him, the inquiry, what is true and decent in manners, took him up intirely—he was an inseparable follower of virtue—impatient of every thing that interrupted him in the pursuit of that which is alike useful to the poor and the rich, and not to be neglected without equal danger to the young and the old,—and resolved that this should be the rule of his life, and the source of his joys,—whatever distemper the mind labours under, here is the cure; only listen to the instructions of virtue, and you will quickly find an alteration.

The practical part is undoubtedly the chief thing to be regarded, but not the only one. If the theory, without the practice, be like the advantage of eyes to one who hath no active powers to be guided by them, or is too indolent to make use of them; the practice without the theory, may too justly be compared to the strength and vigour of a blind man, which for want of sight to direct them, cannot be so usefully employed, either for his own, or the benefit of mankind. The conduct must necessarily fluctuate in uncertainty, when it is not fixed by steady rules, of which the virtuous man had need have the same clear view, as the traveller of his way, that he may not wander from it. There is a very great satisfaction in knowing what a man does, and why he ought to do it; but very little without it.

It is true the study of morality, in a philosophical method, is not the province of all. It is not necessary that all should enter into the depths of this science,

science, and pursue the chain of moral ideas, link after link, as far as it will lead them: but it is greatly to be wished that all, who have leisure and capacity for it, would apply themselves to these inquiries; and even necessary that some should, in order to propagate juster notions among those who have not time, or patience, or ability, to think for themselves, and to guard them against the dangerous impulses of Enthusiasm, the fallacious insinuations of their passions, and the influence of prevailing customs, and pernicious maxims, that by length of time have gained too much authority in the world. The *gentleman* who owes it to his birth and quality, and the superior advantages of his condition, to get his mind more brightened and adorned, his judgment more correct, his sentiments more generous and exalted, his actions more exquisitely finished, according to the exactest rules of truth, honour, and equity, than those of the vulgar; who is capable of doing so much good or harm by his opinions and example, whose virtue is in so much the greater danger as he hath more frequent and inviting opportunities to gratify all his inclinations, and who is exposed to the attempts of persons who make it their business to corrupt his morals, that he may become the easier proselyte to their wretched schemes of infidelity. The *lawyer*, who hath it so often in his power to clear or confound the rights of mankind, to compose or widen their differences, to patronise or betray injured innocence, to vindicate a good cause, or to put a fair gloss on a bad, urged on one hand, by a sense of duty, and the conscious pleasure of always espousing the juster side; tempted and solicited on the other by the prospect of gain. The *divine*, who not only stands in the room of the priest in other religions, but of the philosopher, is by profession an instructor and guide in the ways of

of virtue, reads public lectures on the whole duty of man, and is supposed in a readiness to answer those who privately consult him in dubious cases : All these are under peculiar obligations to be well versed in the science of morals, that they may do all the service to the world that their characters and advantages give others a right to expect from them.

This, in a particular manner, is the concern of the persons last named, I mean the guides and Ministers of the Christian church. For how is it possible he should be a good *preacher*, who is not thoroughly acquainted with moral subjects? The doctrines of religion being intended to promote the observation of its precepts, it is of the last consequence that people should be well instructed in their duty, and the bounds of virtue and vice be exactly marked out, not by telling them *quam prope ad peccatum liceat accedere sine peccato*, how near they may venture to approach to a sin without sinning, (which hath been charged, not without reason, on the casuists of the Roman church) but by so stating, characterizing, and circumscribing them, that they may not be mistaken one for the other. But instruction is not all. After the understanding is convinced, the harder task is still behind, to bring over the will to the interests of virtue, which, as far as it is effected in a moral and rational way, is best done by demonstrating the necessity of moral duties ; painting virtue in its native charms, and setting before men the several motives to it ; in the choice of which a great deal of prudence is required, as well as skill in the manner of representing them, suitable to the time and place, and to the various characters, views and dispositions of men. The art of governing his own passions, which is taught by this science, will open him a way into the human heart, enable him better to understand its weaknesses and unfold its artful doublings ; and, in a word, by
well

well ruling his own, (in which consists a great part of the character of a virtuous man) will give him an ascendant over the passions of others, which he will know how to lead this way, and that at pleasure; the chief praise of the accomplished orator. Upon this head, what a judicious writer * hath observed, merits well to be considered; who, speaking of the defects of the clergy as one cause of the present corruption of Christians, takes notice, that morality of all things is that which is the most superficially handled in the greatest part of sermons, either from a prejudice against morality, or a vain conceit of learning, which makes men foolishly imagine, that to preach morals argues but an ordinary measure of parts, and little skill in divinity; or from its being more difficult to treat of morality in a proper manner than to explain doctrinal subjects. The faults of preachers in this kind, which he remarks as most ordinary, are, that their morality is too general, defective, and sometimes false; being either too remiss, or too severe, and sometimes contradictory.

But against this there lies a popular and plausible objection—What need of our going so far about? Morality is best studied in the Scriptures. To examine these matters by reason, when we have revelation, a privilege so much superior, is like lighting up a candle at noon-day. Dr. Mather, a divine of New England, is so severe in his censure of moral philosophy, as to call it by no better name than *Impietas in artis formam redacta*; and though I know of none who have run the charge so high as this gentleman, yet too many, out of a mistaken (though it should be a real) zeal for Christianity, have said things not very favourable of it, and which, if true, would oblige us to own, that the loss would not be great if it was quite banished

* Ostervald's Treatise of the Causes of the present Corruptions of Christians.

the schools. Dr. Waterland, particularly seems to apprehend, that one thing which has occasioned the growth of Deism, hath been men's advancing morality so much as they have done. He more than insinuates the needlessness of this study, by citing the authority of Mr. Locke with applause, who, saith he, when intreated to draw up a system of morals, returned this very wise and just answer. Did the world want a rule, I confess there could be no work so necessary, nor so commendable; but the Gospel contains so perfect a body of ethics, that reason may be excused from that inquiry, since she may find man's duty clearer and easier in revelation than in herself.

But now, what Horace saith of the conjunction of nature and art in poetry,

———— *alterius sic*
Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amice.

seems to me justly applicable to the assistance that reason and revelation mutually lend one the other in these searches. There can be no doubt that morality is extremely indebted to the Christian revelation on several accounts. For dispelling the mists in which it was involved, clearing its sight, restoring its liberty, and exciting it to the pursuit of virtue by the promise of Divine aid, and the prospect of the most glorious rewards, reason is to thank revelation; without whose help man would not have been able to discern his duty so plainly and easily, or to have discharged it so successfully as he may now do. But then after all this, and much more, to the advantage of revelation, is granted, it will still remain true, that inquiring into the foundations of moral goodness, as laid in the nature of things, and carefully fixing and distinguishing the ideas of the
several

several virtues by right reason, is not only a very innocent and agreeable entertainment, but of singular use to the Christian.

VII. *On the Excellence and Usefulness of History.*

IT is not without reason that history has always been considered as the light of ages, the depository of events, the faithful evidence of truth, the source of prudence and good counsel, and the rule of conduct and manners. Confined without it to the bounds of the age and country wherein we live, and shut up within the narrow circle of such branches of knowledge as are peculiar to us, and the limits of infancy, which leaves us strangers to the rest of the world, and profoundly ignorant of all that has preceded, or even now surrounds us. What is the small number of years that make up the longest life, or what the extent of country which we are able to possess or travel over, but an imperceptible point in comparison of the vast regions of the universe, and the long series of ages which have succeeded one another since the creation of the world? And yet all we are capable of knowing must be limited to this imperceptible point, unless we call in the study of history to our assistance, which opens to us every age and every country, keeps up a correspondence betwixt us and the great men of antiquity, sets all their actions, all their achievements, virtues, and faults before our eyes; and by the prudent reflections it either presents, or gives us an opportunity of making, soon teaches us to be wise before our time, and in a manner far superior to all the lessons of the greatest masters.

History

History may properly be called the common school of mankind, equally open and useful both to great and small, to princes and subjects, and still more necessary to princes and great men, than to all others. For how can awful truth approach them amidst the crowd of flatterers, which surround them on all sides, and are continually commending and admiring them; or in other words, corrupting and poisoning their hearts and understandings; how, I say, can Truth make her feeble voice be heard amidst such tumult and confusion? how venture to lay before them the duties and slaveries of royalty? how shew them wherein their true glory consists, and represent to them, that if they will look back to the original of their institution, they may clearly find they were made for the people, and not the people for them? how put them in mind of their faults, make them apprehend the just judgment of posterity, and disperse the thick clouds, which the vain phantom of their greatness, and the inebriation of their fortune, have formed around them?

These services, which are so necessary and important, can be rendered them only by the assistance of history, which alone has the power of speaking freely to them, and the right of passing an absolute judgment upon the actions of princes, no less than fame, which Seneca calls *liberrimam principum judicem*. Their abilities may be extolled, their wit and valour admired, and their exploits and conquests boasted; but if all these have no foundation in truth and justice, history will tacitly pass sentence upon them under borrowed names.

The greatest part of the most famous conquerors they will find treated as publick calamities, the enemies of mankind, and the robbers of nations, who, hurried on by a restless and blind ambition, carry desolation from country to country, and like an inundation, or a fire, ravage all that they meet in their

way. They will see a Caligula, a Nero, and a Domitian, who were praised to excess during their lives, become the horror and execration of mankind after their deaths; whereas Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius, are still looked upon as the delights of the world, for having made use of their power only to do good. Thus we may say, that history is to them a tribunal raised in their life-time, like that which was formerly erected amongst the Egyptians, where princes, like private men, were tried and condemned after their death, and that hence they may learn before-hand the sentence which will for ever be passed upon their reputation. It is history, in fine, which fixes the seal of immortality upon actions truly great, and sets a mark of infamy on vices, which no after-age can ever obliterate: It is by history that mistaken merit, and oppressed virtue, appeal to the uncorruptible tribunal of posterity, which renders them the justice their own age has sometimes refused them, and without respect of persons, and the fear of a power which subsists no more, condemns the unjust abuse of authority with inexorable rigour.

There is no age or condition, which may not derive the same advantages from history; and what I have said of princes and conquerors, comprehends also in some measure all persons in power, ministers of state, generals of armies, officers, magistrates, governors of provinces, prelates, ecclesiastical superiors both secular and regular, fathers and mothers, masters and mistresses; in a word, whoever have authority over others: For such persons have sometimes more haughtiness, pride, and humour in a very limited station than kings in theirs, and carry their despotick disposition and arbitrary power to a greater length. History therefore is of great advantage, to lay down useful lessons to them all, and present them with a faithful mirror of their duties

ties and obligations by an unsuspected hand, and thereby make them sensible, that they are all constituted for the sake of their inferiors, and not their inferiors for them.

Thus history, when it is well taught, becomes a school of morality for all mankind. It condemns vice, throws off the mask from false virtues, lays open popular errors and prejudices, dispels the delusive charms of riches, and all the vain pomp which dazzles the imagination, and shews by a thousand examples, that are more availing than all reasonings whatsoever, that nothing is great and commendable but honour and probity. From the esteem and admiration, which the most corrupt cannot refuse to the great and good actions, that history lays before them, it confirms the great truth, that virtue is man's real good, and alone renders him truly great and valuable. This virtue we are taught by history to revere, and to discern its beauty and brightness through the veils of poverty, adversity, and obscurity, and sometimes also of disgrace and infamy; as on the other hand it inspires us with the contempt and horror of vice, though clothed in purple, surrounded with splendour, and placed on a throne.

But to confine myself to my own scheme. I look upon history as the first master to be given to children, equally serviceable to entertain and instruct them, to form their hearts and understandings, and to enrich their memories with abundance of facts as agreeable as useful. It may likewise be of great service, by means of the pleasure inseparable from it, towards exciting the curiosity of that age, which is ever desirous of being informed, and inspiring a taste for study. Thus in point of education, it is a fundamental principle, and constantly observed at all times, that the study of history should precede all the rest, and prepare the way for them. Plutarch tells us, that Cato the elder, the famous

cenſor, whoſe name and virtue brought ſo much honour to the Roman commonwealth, took upon himſelf a peculiar care in the education of his ſon, without truſting to the care of maſters, and drew up a collection of hiſtorical facts expreſſly for his uſe, and wrote them over in large characters with his own hands, that the child, he ſaid, might be able from his infancy, without going from home, to become acquainted with the great men of his own country, and form himſelf upon thoſe ancient models of probity and virtue.

It is by no means neceſſary that I ſhould dwell any longer upon proving the uſefulneſs of hiſtory ; it is a point generally enough agreed on, and which few people call in queſtion : It is of moſt concern to know what is neceſſary to be obſerved in order to render the ſtudy of it uſeful, and reaping the benefits to be expected from it. And this I ſhall now attempt to lay down.

That I may throw what I have to ſay upon hiſtory into ſome order, I ſhall divide this diſcourſe into three parts. The firſt ſhall treat of the taſte of ſolid glory and real greatneſs, and ſerve to caution youth againſt the falſe ideas which the ſtudy of hiſtory itſelf may raiſe in them upon this ſubject. The ſecond ſhall be upon ſacred hiſtory. The third upon profane. And in the laſt I ſhall ſay ſomething of fable, of the ſtudy of the Greek and Roman antiquities, the authors from whence we are to borrow our knowledge of hiſtory, and the order wherein they are to be read.

I make no mention here of the hiſtory of France, as it is but natural that ancient hiſtory ſhould precede the modern, and I ſcarce think it poſſible for boys to find time, whiſt they are at ſchool, to apply themſelves to that of France. But I am far from looking upon it as an indifferent ſtudy, and I am concerned to ſee it ſo much neglected as it is by
abundance

abundance of persons, to whom it might notwithstanding be very useful, not to say necessary. In talking thus I first of all blame myself; for I own I have not applied myself to it in the manner it deserves, and I am ashamed to be in some measure a stranger in my own country, after having travelled through so many others: And yet our history supplies us with great examples of virtue, and abundance of beautiful actions, which remain for the most part buried in obscurity, either through the badness of our historians, who have wanted the talents for treating them according to their dignity, like the Greeks and Romans, or in consequence of a bad taste, which inclines to admire highly what passes at a distance from our own age and country, whilst we remain cold and indifferent to such actions as pass before our eyes and in the age we live. But though we have not time to teach you the history of France, we ought at least to cultivate a taste in them for it, by quoting such passages out of it from time to time, as may induce them to a farther application to it, when they shall have leisure.

Rollin's Method of teaching and studying the Belles Letters, vol 3.



VIII. *On Eloquence.*

THOUGH nature and genius are the principal foundations of eloquence, and sometimes suffice alone for success in it, we cannot however deny, but that precepts and art may be of great service to an orator, whether he uses them as guides to supply him with certain rules for distinguishing the good from the bad, or for improving and bringing to perfection the advantages he has received from nature.

These precepts, founded on the principles of good sense and right reason, are only the judicious observations of learned men on the discourses of the best orators, which were afterwards reduced into form, and united under certain heads; whence it was said, that eloquence was not the offspring of art, but art of eloquence.

From hence it is easy to conceive, that rhetoric, without the study of good authors, is lifeless and barren, and that examples in this, as in all other things, are infinitely more efficacious than precepts; and indeed the rhetorician seems only to point out the path at a distance which youth are to follow, whilst the orator takes them by the hand, and leads them into it.

As the end then proposed in the class of rhetoric, is to teach them to apply the rules, and imitate the models or examples set before them; all the care of masters, with regard to eloquence, is reduced to these three heads; precepts, the studying of authors, and composition.

Quintilian tells us, the second of those articles was entirely neglected in his time, and that the rhetoricians bestowed all their study on the other two. To say nothing here of the species of composition, then in vogue, called declamation, and which was one of the principal causes of the corruption of eloquence: they entered into a long train of precepts, and into knotty, and very often frivolous questions; which is the reason, that even Quintilian's rhetoric, though so excellent in other respects, appears vastly tedious in several places: he had too just a taste, not to observe, that the reading of authors is one of the most essential parts of rhetoric, and most capable of forming the minds of youth; yet, however good his inclination might be, it was impossible for him to stem the torrent; and he was obliged, in spite of all his endeavours, to conform in public to a custom that prevailed

prevailed universally, but followed, in private, that method which he judged the best.

This method is now generally received in the University of Paris, and did not gain ground there but by degrees. I shall dwell chiefly on that part, which relates to the study and explanation of authors, after having treated transiently of the other two, which it may be said to include in some measure.

XX

IX. *On the Precepts of Eloquence.*

THE best way to learn rhetoric, would be to imbibe it at the fountain head; I mean from Aristotle, Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Longinus, Cicero, and Quintilian. But since the reading of these authors, especially the Greek, is much above the capacity of the scholars usually admitted into the class of rhetoric, the professors may explain, by word of mouth, the solid principles that occur in those great masters of eloquence, which they ought to have made their peculiar study, and content themselves with pointing out to their pupils, the most beautiful passages in Cicero and Quintilian, where the topics to be expounded are discussed; for me thinks it would be a shame to leave the class of rhetoric, without having some idea and knowledge of those authors, who have treated the art with so much success.

What is most important in rhetoric, does not consist so much in the precepts, as in the reflections that attend them, and shew their use. A man may know the number of the several parts of an oration, that of the tropes and figures, and the definitions very exactly, and yet be never the better qualified for composition. These things are indeed useful, and even necessary to a certain degree, but do not suf-

fice ; being only, as it were, the body or shell of rhetoric. If the observations which give a reason for, and shew the effect of every precept, are not added, it is a body without a soul ; but some examples will explain my meaning.

One rule of the exordium is, that the orator should speak very modestly of himself, in order to conciliate the judges in his favour ; that he should not display his eloquence too much, and, if possible, even render that of his opponent suspected. This is a good and very necessary precept, but Quintilian's reflections upon it are as much more valuable. It is natural for us, says he, to be prejudiced in favour of the weakest, and a religious judge hears very willingly a pleader or advocate, when he thinks him incapable of imposing upon his justice, and that he has no reason to distrust him. Thence, says he, proceeded the care of the antients, to conceal their eloquence ; in which they differ very widely from the orators of our age, who use their utmost efforts to display theirs.

He elsewhere gives another still more laudable reason, deduced from nature itself, and founded on the knowledge of the human heart. It is never commendable, says he, in any man to boast of himself ; but an orator, of all people, appears with the worst grace, when his eloquence makes him vain. Such a conduct raises contempt, and sometimes hatred, in the auditors ; for there is something naturally great, noble, and sublime, in the heart of man, which cannot bear a superior. For this reason we are inclined to raise up those who are cast down, or humble themselves, because it gives us an air of superiority ; and, as that prostrate condition leaves no room for jealousy, sentiments of candour and humanity naturally take place. On the contrary, he who sets too high a value upon himself shocks our pride, because we think he lessens and contemns us, and
seems

seems less intent upon magnifying himself, than upon making others his inferiors.

Brevity is generally laid down as one of the necessary qualities of narration, and is made to consist in saying no more than is necessary. If this precept be not explained, it will inform the mind but very little, and may occasion mistakes; but what Quintilian adds, sets it in the clearest light. Although I observed, that brevity consists in saying no more than what is necessary, I do not however pretend, that the orator should confine himself to the bare stating the fact; for though the narration should be short, it should not want its graces; without which it would be void of art, and disgusting: For pleasure deceives and amuses, and whatever gives delight seems of short duration; as a smooth and pleasant road, though of a considerable length, fatigues less than one that is short, but steep and disagreeable.

It is plain, such reflections may be of great service towards giving us a just taste of eloquence, and may even form and improve the style; but jejune and over-refined precepts only cramp the genius, and deprive orations of their nobler parts, their vigour and beauty.

M. Herfan, formerly professor in the college in Pleffis, under whom I was so happy to study three years, and who contributed in forming some of the best masters that have since appeared in the university, composed, on the plan here mentioned, an excellent system of rhetoric, into which he introduced all the finest thoughts of the antients; but unhappily, it would take up too much time to dictate it; and besides, I own I am of opinion, that it would be better to read the beautiful passages of the antient rhetoricians in the authors themselves.

Methinks then, for the sake of time, which is very precious in study, it were to be wished, that a short, plain, and clear printed system of rhetoric was used

in the university, wherein true definitions should be given, some reflections and examples added to the precepts, and the beautiful passages on each topic in Cicero, Quintilian, and even Longinus (since we now have so good a translation of him) pointed out. Part of those passages might be read to scholars in the class of rhetoric, and they themselves might consult the rest.

I am very sensible it is difficult, if not impossible, to do all this to advantage in the space of a year; and the best advice that can be given to parents, who would have their children make a good progress in this class, which may be of infinite advantage to them during the remainder of their lives, whatever profession they may follow, is to let them continue two years in it: For what probability is there, that scholars next to children, who have little judgment, are not much versed in the Latin tongue, and probably not very studious, should imbibe the precepts of so important an art in so short a time.

The Romans had a far different idea of this study. As eloquence, among them, opened the way to all grandeur, such young people, as had care taken of their education, applied themselves seriously to it, and spent several years under masters of rhetoric, as appears from Quintilian: but even in those days, they sometimes neglected that excellent discipline, of which one of the antients complains; and ambitious fathers, solely intent upon promoting their children, hurried them to the bar, without giving them time to digest their studies, as though it were as easy to give them abilities, as a lawyer's gown; whereas had they made them pass through the ordinary degrees of literature, and allowed their judgment time to ripen by a careful study of authors, to imbibe a great number of just philosophical principles, and to acquire correctness of stile, they would have enabled
their

their sons to support all the weight and majesty of eloquence with dignity and advantage.

X. *On Composition.*

IT is particularly in rhetoric, that young people endeavour to display their genius by some composition of their own, and that the greatest care is taken to form them in this study, which is not only the most difficult, but the most important, and, as it were, the end and scope of all the rest. To succeed in it, they ought to have collected, from the good authors in the other classes through which they pass, a great number of terms and phrases of that tongue in which they purpose to write, so that when an occasion offers for expressing any thought in just and proper language, they may have recourse to their memory, that, like a rich treasury, may supply them with all the expressions they have occasion to use.

XI. *The Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown.*

Introduction.

THROUGH the whole progress of that important contest which Athens maintained against the Macedonians, Demosthenes and Æschines had ever been distinguished by their weight and influence in the assemblies of their state. They had adopted different systems of ministerial conduct, and stood at the head of two opposite parties, each so powerful as to prevail by turns, and to defend the schemes of
their

their antagonist. The leaders had, on several occasions, avowed their mutual opposition and animosity: Demosthenes, in particular, had brought an impeachment against his rival, and obliged him to enter into a formal defence of his conduct, during an embassy at the court of Macedon. His resentment was confirmed by this desperate attack; and his success in bearing up against it, encouraged him to watch some favourable opportunity for retorting on his accuser.

The defeat at Chæronea afforded this opportunity. The people in general were, indeed, too equitable to withdraw their confidence from Demosthenes, although his measures had been unsuccessful; but faction, which judges or affects to judge merely by events, was violent and clamorous. The minister was reviled, his conduct severely scrutinized, his errors aggravated, his policy condemned; and he himself threatened with inquiries, trials, and impeachments. The zeal of his partisans, on the other hand, was roused by this opposition, and they deemed it expedient to procure some public solemn declaration in favour of Demosthenes, as the most effectual means to silence his accusers.

It was usual with the Athenians, and, indeed, with all the Greeks, when they would express their sense of extraordinary merit, to crown the person so distinguished with a chaplet of olive interwoven with gold. The ceremony was performed in some populous assembly, convened either for business or entertainment; and proclamation made, in due form, of the honour thus conferred, and the services for which it was bestowed.

To procure such an honour for Demosthenes, at this particular juncture, was thought the most effectual means to confound the clamour of his enemies. He had lately been intrusted with the repair
of

of the fortifications of Athens, in which he expended a considerable sum of his own, over and above the public appointment, and thus enlarged the work beyond the letter of his instructions. It was therefore agreed, that Ctesiphon, one of his zealous friends, should take this occasion of moving the senate to procure a decree, (to be ratified by the popular assembly) reciting this particular service of Demosthenes, representing him as a citizen of distinguished merit, and ordaining that a golden crown (as it was called) should be conferred upon him. To give this transaction the greater solemnity, it was moved, that the ceremony should be performed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the festival held in honour of that God, when not only the Athenians, but other Greeks, from all parts of the nation, were assembled to see the tragedies exhibited in that festival.

The senate agreed to the resolution ; but, before it could be referred to the popular assembly for their confirmation, Æschines, who had examined the whole transaction with all the severity that hatred and jealousy could inspire, pronounced it irregular and illegal, both in form and matter ; and without delay assumed the common privilege of an Athenian citizen, to commence a suit against Ctesiphon as the first mover of a decree repugnant to the laws, a crime of a very heinous nature in the Athenian policy.

The articles on which he founds his accusation, are reduced to these three.

I. Whereas every citizen, who has borne any magistracy, is obliged, by law, to lay a full account of his administration before the proper officers ; and that it is expressly enacted, that no man shall be capable of receiving any public honours, till this his account hath been duly examined and approved ; Ctesiphon hath yet moved that Demosthenes should
receive

receive a crown previous to the examination of his conduct, in the office conferred upon him, and before the passing of his accounts.

II. Whereas it is ordained that all crowns conferred by the community of citizens shall be presented and proclaimed in their assembly, and in no other place whatsoever; Ctesiphon hath yet proposed that the crown shall be presented and proclaimed in the theatre.

III. Whereas the laws pronounce it highly penal for any man to insert a falsehood in any motion or decree; Ctesiphon hath yet expressly declared, as the foundation of this his decree, that the conduct of Demosthenes hath been ever excellent, honourable, and highly serviceable to the state; a point directly opposite to the truth.

The two former of these articles he endeavours to establish by an appeal to the laws and ordinances of Athens. Here he was obliged to be critical and copious, which may render the first parts of his pleading not so agreeable to an English reader, as that in which he enters into the public transactions of his country, and the ministerial conduct of his adversary.

The prosecution was commenced in the year of the fatal battle of Charonea; but the final decision of the cause had been suspended about eight years; and this interval was full of great events, to which each of the speakers frequently alluded.

It was the first care of Alexander, on his accession to the throne, to undeceive those among the Greeks, who, like Demosthenes, had affected to despise his youth. He instantly marched into Peloponnesus, and demanded the people of that country to accept him as a commander of their forces against Persia. The Spartans alone sullenly refused. The Athenians, on their part, were intimidated, and yielded to his demand with greater expressions of reverence
and

and submission than they had ever paid to his father. He returned to Macedon to hasten his preparations, where he found it necessary to march against his barbarous neighbours, who were meditating a descent upon his kingdom. His conflicts with these people occasioned a report to be spread through Greece, that the young King had fallen in battle. The Macedonian faction were alarmed: their opposers industriously propagated the report, and excited the Greeks to seize this opportunity to rise up against a power which had reduced them to a state of ignominious subjection. The Thebans unhappily yielded to such instances, took arms, and slaughtered the Macedonian garrison that had been stationed in their citadel.

But this insolence and cruelty did not long remain unpunished. Alexander suddenly appeared before their gates, at the head of his army, and in a few days became master of their city; where he executed his vengeance with fire and the sword. The miserable state of desolation and captivity, to which the Thebans were thus reduced, is ascribed in the following oration to the pernicious counsel and machinations of Demosthenes, and displayed in the most lively and pathetic terms.

Nor did this extraordinary instance of rigour fail of its intended effect. The Greeks were astonished and confounded. The Athenians thought it expedient to send a deputation of their citizens, to congratulate the King of Macedon on his late successes. Demosthenes was one of the persons chosen to execute this commission; but, conscious of the resentment which his well-known zeal against the Macedonian interest must have merited from Alexander, he deserts the other deputies while they were on their journey, and returned precipitately to Athens: Nor indeed were his apprehensions groundless; for,
 although

although the address was graciously received, yet the king took this occasion of complaining, in a manner which marked his superiority, of those factious leaders among the Athenians, to whom he affected to impute all the calamities of Greece, from the battle of Chæronea to the destruction of the Thebes. He demanded that several of the public speakers, and Demosthenes among the rest, should be delivered up to the power of the Amphyctionic council, there to abide their trial, and to meet the punishment due to their offences. This was in effect to demand that they should be delivered into his own hands. The Athenians were in the utmost consternation, but found means to deprecate his resentment, and prevail upon him to be satisfied with the banishment of Charidemus, one of his most distinguished opposers; who accordingly repaired to the court of Darius, where his sage counsel, that the Persian should avoid an engagement with Alexander, provoked the haughty and capricious tyrant to put him to death.

During Alexander's famous expedition into Asia, and the progress of his stupendous victories, Greece enjoyed a sort of calm, and the Athenians found leisure to decide the contest between their rival statesmen. The parties now appeared before a number of judges, probably not less than five hundred, and these chosen from the citizens at large, men of lively and warm imaginations, and of all others most susceptible of the impressions made by the force and artifice of popular eloquence. The partisans of each side crowded round, to assist and support their friend; and the tribunal was surrounded, not only by the citizens of Athens, but vast numbers from all parts of Greece, curious to hear two so celebrated speakers, upon a subject so engaging as the late national transactions, and to be witnesses

witnesses of the decision of a cause which had been for some years the object of general attention and expectation.

We now proceed to give a large abstract of the oration.

XII. *The Oration.*

IN the first place, ye men of Athens, I make my prayer to all the powers of heaven, that such affection as I have ever invariably discovered to this state, and all its citizens, you, now, may entertain for me, upon this present trial; and (what concerns you nearly, what essentially concerns your religion and your honour) that the Gods may so dispose your minds, as to permit me to proceed in my defence, not as directed by my adversary, (that would be severe indeed!) but by the laws, and by your oath, in which, to all the other equitable clauses, we find this expressly added.—Each party shall have equal audience.—This imports not merely that you shall not pre-judge, not merely that the same impartiality shall be shewn to both; but still further, that the contending parties shall each be left at full liberty to * arrange, and to conduct his pleading, as his choice or judgment may determine.

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* To arrange, &c. This is a liberty the orator hath accordingly assumed, and most artfully and happily. Under the pretence of guarding against all prepossessions, he first enters into a full detail of public affairs, and sets his own services in the fairest point of view. Having thus gained the hearts of the hearers, then he ventures on the points of law relative to his accounts, &c.; and these he soon dismisses, with an affected contempt of his adversary, and a perfect confidence in the merits of his own cause. Then come in objections to the character of the prosecutor, which naturally lead him round again to the history of his own administration, the point on which
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In many instances hath Æschines the intire advantage in this cause. Two there are of more especial moment. First, as to our interests in the contest, we are on terms utterly unequal; for they are by no means points of equal import, for me to be deprived of your affections, and for him to be defeated in his prosecution. As to me.—But, when I am entering on my defence, let me suppress every thing ominous, sensible as I must be of this the advantage of my adversary. In the next place, such is the natural disposition of mankind, that invective and accusation are heard with pleasure, while they who speak their own praises are received with impatience. His, then, is the part which commands a favourable acceptance; that which must prove offensive to every single hearer is reserved for me. If, to guard against this disadvantage, I should decline all mention of my own actions, I know not by what means I could refute the charge, or establish my pretensions to this honour. If, on the other hand, I enter into a detail of my whole conduct, private and political, I must be obliged to speak perpetually of myself. Here then I shall endeavour to preserve all possible moderation; and what the circumstances of the case necessarily extort from me, must, in justice, be imputed to him who first moved a prosecution so extraordinary.

I presume, ye judges, ye will all acknowledge, that in this cause Ctesiphon and I are equally concerned; that it calls for my attention no less than his: For, in every case, it is grievous and severe to be deprived of our advantages, and especially when they are wrested from us by an enemy; but to be

he chiefly relied, and where he had the finest occasions of displaying his own merits, and of loading Æschines and his adherents with the heaviest imputations, as traitors to the state, and malicious enemies to those who were distinguished by their zeal in support of her rights and dignity.

deprived

deprived of your favour and affections, is a misfortune the most severe, as these are advantages the most important. And if such be the object of the present contest, I hope, and it is my general request to this tribunal, that, while I endeavour to defend myself fairly and equitably against this charge, ye will hear me as the laws direct; those laws, which their first author, Solon, the man so tender of our interests, so true a friend to liberty, secured, not by enacting only, but by the additional provision of that oath imposed on you, ye judges, not, as I conceive from any suspicion of your integrity, but from a clear conviction, that, as the prosecutor, who is first to speak, hath the advantage of loading his adversary with invectives and calumnies, the defendant could not possibly prevail against them, unless each of you, who are to pronounce sentence, should, with a reverend attention to that duty which you owe to Heaven, favourably admit the just defence of him who is to answer, vouchsafe an impartial and equal audience to both parties, and thus form your decision on all that hath been urged by both.

As I am, on this day, to enter into an exact detail of all my conduct, both in private life, and in my public administration, here permit me to repeat those supplications to the Gods with which I first began, and in your presence to offer up my prayers, first, that I may be received by you, on this occasion, with the same affection which I have ever felt for this state and all its citizens; and, in the next place, that Heaven may direct your minds to that determination which shall prove most conducive to the general honour of all, and most exactly consonant to the religious engagements of each individual.

Had Æschines confined his accusation to those points only on which he founded his impeachment,

I too should have readily proceeded to support the legality of the decree : but, as he hath been no less copious upon other subjects, as he hath pressed me with various allegations, most of them the grossest falsehoods, I deem it necessary, and it is but just that I first speak a few words of these, that none of you may be influenced by matters foreign to the cause, and no prepossessions conceived against me when I come to the chief point of my defence.

As for all that scandalous abuse which he hath vented against my private character, mark on what plain and equitable issue I rest the whole. If you know me to be such a man as he alledges, (for I am no stranger ; my life hath been spent among you ;) suffer me not to speak, no, though my public administration may have had the most transcendent merit : rise up at once, and pronounce my condemnation. But if you have ever esteemed, if you have known me to be much superior to him, of a family more reputable, inferior to no citizen of common rank, either in character or birth, (to say more might seem arrogant and offensive) then let him be denied all confidence in other matters ; for here is a plain proof that he hath equally been false in all : and let me be now favoured with the same regard which I have experienced on many former trials. Yes, Æschines ! depraved as is your heart, your understanding here appears equally depraved ! To imagine that I could be diverted from the account of all my political transactions, by turning aside to these your personal scurrilities ! I shall not proceed thus ; I am not so infatuated : no, I shall first examine all that falsehood and virulence with which you have loaded my administration ; and then proceed to these calumnies with which he hath so licentiously abused my private character, if this audience can endure the odious detail.

* To proceed then to the articles on which I am accused : These are many and grievous ; some of that kind, against which the laws denounce severe, nay the utmost punishments. But the whole scheme of this prosecution discovers all the rancour of enmity, all the extravagance, and virulence, and insolence of malice, which I call the Gods to witness, is neither right, nor constitutional, nor just. True it is, that no man should be denied the privilege of appearing, and speaking before the people ; but this privilege never should be perverted to the purposes of animosity and envy. Yet thus hath he abused it : For, had he really been witness of my crimes against the state, and of crimes so heinous, as he hath now set forth with such theatrical solemnity, he might have resorted to the legal punishments, while the facts were recent : Had he seen me acting so as to merit an impeachment, he might have impeached : had I proposed illegal decrees, he might in due form have accused me of illegal decrees : or whatever other crimes his malice hath now falsely urged against me, whatever other instances of guilt he had discovered in my conduct, there are laws against them all, there are punishments, there are legal forms of procedure, which might have condemned me to the severest penalties. Here was his resource. And did it appear that he had proceeded thus, that he had thus embraced the legal advantages against me, then had he been consistent in the present prosecution : But now, as he hath deviated from the regular and equitable method ; as he hath declined all attempts to convict me, while the facts were recent ; and, after so long an interval, hath collected such an

* In the common editions of the original, this whole passage is embarrassed and confused. The translator hath followed the arrangement of Dr. Taylor.

heap of calumny, of ribaldry and scandal, it is evident he but acts a part: While I am the person really accused, he affects the form of proceeding only against this man: while on the very face of the prosecution there appears a malicious design against me, he dares not point his malice at the real object, but labours to destroy the reputation of another. So that to all the other arguments too obvious to be urged, with all the force of truth, in defence of Ctesiphon, I might fairly add one more: That, whatever be our particular quarrels, justice requires that they should be discussed between ourselves: that we ourselves, I say, should support the contest, and not seek for some innocent victim to sacrifice to our animosities. This is the severest injustice. No! he cannot pursue Ctesiphon on my account; and that he hath not directed his impeachment against me, can proceed but from a consciousness that such impeachment could not be supported.

Here then I might rest my cause, as it is natural to conclude from what hath now been offered, that all the several articles of his accusation must be equally unjust, and equally devoid of truth, but it is my purpose to examine them distinctly, one by one; and especially his injurious falsehoods relative to the peace and embassy, where he would transfer the guilt of those actions upon me, which he himself committed, in conjunction with Philocrates. And here, my fellow-citizens, it is necessary, nor is it foreign to the purpose, to recall to your remembrance the state of our affairs in those times, that, together with each conjecture, ye may have a clear view of each particular transaction.

At that period then, when the Phocian war broke out, (not by my means, for I had no share in public business at that time) such were, in the first place, the dispositions of this state, that we wished the safety of the Phocians, although we saw the injustice

justice of their conduct; and what calamity soever the Thebans might have suffered, would have given us pleasure, as we are incensed, and not without reason and justice, against this people: indeed they had not used their success at Leuctra with moderation. Then, Peloponnesus was all divided: those who hated the Lacedemonians were not strong enough to destroy them, nor could the governors, appointed by Lacedemon, maintain their authority in the several cities; but they, and all, were every where involved in desperate contention and disorder. Philip perceiving this (for it was no secret) and lavishing his gold on the traitors in the several states, aided the confusion, and inflamed them still more violently against each other. Thus did he contrive to make the faults and errors of other men subservient to his own interests, so as to rise to that height of power which threatened all Greece; and now, when men began to sink under the calamity of a long-protracted war; when the then insolvent, but now unhappy Thebans, were on the point of being compelled, in the face of Greece, to fly to you for protection, Philip, to prevent this, to keep the states from uniting, promised a peace to you; to them a reinforcement.

What was it then, which so far conspired with his designs, that you fell into the snare by an error almost voluntary? The cowardice shall I call it? or the ignorance of the other Greeks? or rather a combination of both? Who, while you were maintaining a tedious and incessant war, and this in the common cause, (as was evident in fact) never once provided for your support, neither by money, nor by troops, nor by any assistance whatever. This conduct you received with a just and a becoming resentment, and readily listened to the overtures of Philip. Hence were you prevailed on to grant the peace, not by any promises of mine, as he hath

falsely asserted ; and it must appear, upon a fair examination, that the iniquity and corruption of these men, in the course of that treaty, have been the real cause of all our present difficulties. But I shall now proceed to a faithful and exact detail of this whole transaction, conscious that, if any instances of guilt, ever so heinous, should appear in it, not one can be fairly charged on me.

* The first who ever moved or mentioned a peace was Aristodemus the player. The man who seconded his instances, and proposed the decree, and who, with him, had hired out his services on this occasion, was Philocrates, your accomplice, *Æschines*, not mine: No! though you roar out your falsehoods till you burst. They who united with them in support of this measure, (from what motives I shall not now inquire) were *Eubulus* and *Cephisophon*, I had no part in it at all. And though this be really the fact, though it be proved by the evidence of truth itself, yet so abandoned is he to all sense of shame, as to dare not only to assert that I was the author of this peace, but that I prevented the state from concluding it in conjunction with the general assembly of the Greeks. O thou—by what name can I properly call thee? When thou wert present, when thou sawest me depriving the state of an interest so important, a conjunction of such moment, as thou now describest with so much pomp, didst thou express thy indignation? Didst thou rise up, to explain, to enforce, that guilt of which thou now accusest me? And, had Philip purchased this my important service of preventing the union of the Greeks, surely it was not thy part to be silent, but to cry aloud, to testify, to inform

* The first who, &c. The particulars of this whole negotiation are related at large in the third book of the History of the Life of Philip, &c.

these thy fellow-citizens. But this was never done ; thy voice was never once heard on this occasion : And, in fact, no embassy was at that time sent to any of the Grecian states : they had all discovered their sentiments long before ; such is the absurdity of his assertions ; and, what is still worse, these his falsehoods are principally directed against the honour of our state. For, if you called on the other Greeks to take up arms, and at the same time sent out your ministers to Philip to treat for peace, this was the act of an Eurybatus, not the part of this city, not the procedure of honest men. But this is not the fact : No ! For what purpose could ye have sent them at that period ? For a peace ; they were all at peace : For a war ? We were then actually deliberating about the treaty. Upon the whole, therefore, it doth not appear that I was at all the agent, or at all the author of this first peace : Nor can he produce the least reasonable evidence to support those other falsehoods he hath urged against me.

Again ; from the time when this state had agreed to peace, examine fairly what course of conduct each of us adopted : Thus shall you clearly see who was Philip's agent upon every occasion ; who acted for you, and sought the real interest of his country.

I, on my part, proposed a decree in the senate, that our ambassadors should embark, with all expedition, for such place as they were informed was the present residence of Philip, and receive his oaths of ratification. But they, even after my decree had passed, declined to pay the due obedience. And here, Athenians, I must explain the import and moment of this my decree. It was the interest of Philip, that the interval between our acceding, and his swearing to the treaty, should be as long ; your's, that it should be as short as possible ; And why ? you had abandoned all warlike preparations,
not

not only from the day when you had sworn to the peace, but from the moment you had first conceived an expectation of it : He, on the contrary, redoubled his attention to all military affairs, through the whole intervening period ; concluding, (and it proved a just conclusion) that whatever places he could wrest from us, previous to his oaths of ratification, he might retain them all securely, and that no one could think of rescinding the treaty upon that account. This I foresaw. I weighed it maturely, and hence proposed this decree, that they should repair to Philip, and receive his oaths, with all expedition ; that so he should be obliged to ratify the treaty, while the Thracians, your allies, yet kept possession of those places, the object of this man's ridicule, Serrium, Myrtium, and Ergyske : not that Philip, by seizing such of them as were most convenient to his purposes, should become master of all Thrace ; not that he should acquire vast treasures ; not that he should gain large reinforcements, and thus execute all his future schemes with ease. Here is a decree which Æschines hath never mentioned, never quoted : but, because I moved in the senate that the ambassadors of Macedonia should be introduced, he inveighs against me as highly criminal. What should I have done ? Was I to move that they should not be introduced, the men who came purposedly to treat with us ? Was I to forbid that any seats should be appointed for them in the theatre ? Why, they might have purchased seats at the common trifling price. Was I to shew my concern for Athens by such minute savings, while, like him and his accomplices, I sold our capital interests to Philip ? No ! Take my decree, which he, though well acquainted with it, hath passed over in silence. Read !

The

The D E C R E E.

“ In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the nineteenth day of the month Ecatombæon, the Pandionian tribe presiding, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the Pæanian tribe, proposed the following decree :

W Hereas Philip, by his ambassadors sent to Athens to confer about a peace, hath agreed and concluded on the terms : It is resolved by the senate and people of Athens, in order to the final execution of this treaty, agreeable to the resolutions and conventions of a former assembly, that five ambassadors be chosen from the community of Athens ; which ambassadors, thus chosen, shall depart, and without delay repair to such place as, they shall be informed, is the place of Philip's residence ; and with all possible expedition mutually receive and take the oaths necessary for ratification of the treaty concluded, as aforesaid, with the people of Athens, including the allies on each side. The persons chosen into this commission, are Eubulus, Æschines, Cephisophon, Democrates, and Cleon.”

When, by this decree, I had approved my attachment to the state, not to the interests of Philip, our excellent ambassadors sat down, in perfect indifference, three whole months in Macedon, although, within the space of ten, or rather of three or four days, they might have arrived at the Hellespont, tendered the oaths, and thus saved the towns before he had reduced them : For he would not have attempted the least hostility in our presence ; or, if he had, we might have refused his ratification, and disappointed his hopes of peace : for he could not have enjoyed both, a peace and his conquests also.

Extracted

Extracted from the oration of Demosthenes on the Crown. Page 157—174. Translated into English by Thomas Leland, D. D. Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. Vol. iii. 8vo. London, printed for W. Johnson, Ludgate-street, 1770.

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Sublime Poetry from Pope's Translation of Homer.

XIII. I L I A D, Book vi. Line 390.

The passage where Hector, before he engages, takes leave of Andromache, and embraces Astyanax, is one of the most beautiful and pathetic in the whole Poem. I shall give a part of it, which will take in both descriptions and discourse,

HECTOR, this heard, return'd without delay,
Swift through the town he trod his former way,
Through streets of palaces, and walks of state,
And met the mourner at the Scæan gate.
With haste to meet him sprung the joyful fair,
His blameless wife, Action's wealthy heir :
The nurse stood near, in whose embraces prest,
His only hope hung smiling at her breast,
Whom each soft charm, and early grace adorn,
Fair as the new-born star, that gilds the morn.
Silent the warrior smil'd, and pleas'd resign'd,
To tender passions all his mighty mind ;
His beauteous Princess cast a mournful look,
Hung on his hand, and then dejected spoke ;
Her bosom labour'd with a boding sigh,
And the big tear stood trembling in her eye.
Too daring Prince ! ah, whither dost thou run !
Ah ! too forgetful of thy wife and son !

And

And think'st thou not how wretched we shall be,
 A widow I, an helpless orphan he !
 For sure such courage length of life denies,
 And thou must fail, thy virtue's sacrifice.
 Greece in her single heroes strove in vain,
 Now hosts oppose thee, and thou must be slain !
 Oh, grant me, Gods, e'er Hector meets his doom,
 All I can ask of Heaven, an early tomb !
 So shall my days in one sad tenor run,
 And end with sorrows, as they first begun :
 No parent now remains my grief to share,
 No father's aid, no mother's tender care.

After having digressed, perhaps somewhat too long, upon the greatness of her past calamities, she then goes on,

Yet while my Hector still survives, I see
 My father, mother, brethren, all in thee.
 Alas ! my parents, brothers, kindred, all
 Once more will perish if my Hector fall :
 Thy wife, thy infant, in thy danger share,
 Oh prove a husband's, and a father's care !

Hector having answered Andromache in a manner equally noble and affectionate,

Th' illustrious Prince of Troy
 Stretch'd his fond arms to clasp the lovely boy,
 The babe clung crying to his nurse's breast,
 Scar'd at the dazzling helm, and nodding crest.
 With secret pleasure each fond parent smil'd;
 And Hector hasted to relieve his child :
 The glittering terrors from his brows unbound,
 And plac'd the beaming helmet on the ground,
 Then kiss'd the child, and lifting high in air,
 Thus to the Gods prefer'd a father's prayer.
 O thou, whose glory fills th' æthereal throne,
 And all the deathless powers, protect my son !

Grant

Grant him, like me, to purchase just renown,
 To guard the Trojans, to defend the crown,
 Against his country's foes the war to wage,
 And rise the Hector of the future age !
 So when triumphant from successful toils
 Of heroes slain, he bears the reeking spoils,
 Whole hosts may hail him with deserv'd acclaim,
 And say, this chief transcends his father's fame ;
 While pleas'd amidst the general shouts of Troy,
 His mother's conscious heart o'erflows with joy.
 He spoke, and fondly gazing on her charms,
 Restor'd the pleasing burden to her arms ;
 Soft on her fragrant breast the babe she laid,
 Hush'd to repose, and with a smile survey'd
 The troubled pleasure, soon chastiz'd by fear,
 She mingled with the smile a tender tear.

There never was a finer piece of painting than this. How expressive is the grief and consternation of Andromache ! How just and beautiful the image of a child, frightened at the glittering of his father's arms, and shrinking back into the bosom of his nurse ! The sentiment of Hector, who desires to see his son exceed him in glory, how natural ! But how extremely delicate are the last words. It is sufficient to be able to read Greek, and to have some ear, to perceive the entire softness of them, and to own that no translation can come up to them in beauty.

XIV. *Biography.*

The life, character, and writings of Dr. DANIEL WATERLAND, born 1683, died 1740, aged 57.

DR. Daniel Waterland, a late eminent divine, and the ablest master of the Trinitarian controversy that ever lived in England, or in any age or nation, was born at Wafely in Lincolnshire, 1683, and was the son of the Reverend Mr. Henry Waterland, rector of that place. He had his school education at Lincoln, and his academical at Magdalen College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Samuel Barker, of that society: He was first scholar, and afterwards fellow, and commencing tutor, became a great ornament and advantage to it. In this capacity he drew up a tract, under the title of "Advice to a young Student, with a Method of Study for the first four Years," which has gone through several editions.

In the year 1713, he became master of the college, and obtained the rectory of Ellingham, in Norfolk, and was soon after appointed chaplain in ordinary to George the First. In the year 1720, he preached the first course of lectures, founded by Lady Moyer, for the defence of our Lord's divinity. He was presented in the following year, by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, to the rectory of St. Austin and St. Faith, in London, and soon after promoted to the Chancellorship of the church of York, by Sir William Dawes, archbishop of that province.

In the year 1727, he was collated by his diocesan to the archdeaconry of Middlesex, and his Majesty conferred on him a canonry in the church of Windsor, and that chapter presented him to the vicarage of Twickenham. He now resigned the rectory of St. Austin,

Austin, not being willing to hold two benefices at once, with the cure of souls.

He died in the year 1740, and was interred in the collegiate church at Windsor. It would be doing equal injustice to the reader, and to the memory of this worthy man, not to transcribe his character, as it is elegantly drawn up by Mr. Seed, who was his assistant at Twickenham, and intimately acquainted with him.

Nobody was more capable of shining as an original writer, and striking out new and unbeaten tracts of thought; for he had Mr. Locke's clearness of reasoning, as well as the extensive reading of Bishop Stillingfleet. He had pushed his enquiries so far into matters of a very high and elevated nature, that where his views stopped short, there was not merely the boundary of his understanding; it was the boundary of human understanding, the point where knowledge ceases, and ignorance commences. An elaborate attempt had been made to demonstrate the existence of God *a priori*, and that he is the substratum of space. And when the strong man, well armed with learning and abilities, kept his new-erected metaphysical building, his intellectual goods were at peace just so long, till a stronger than he arose and stripped him of the armour wherein he trusted.

He had thoroughly studied the doctrine of the Trinity long before he entered into the controversy. He sat down to the subject without any pre-conceived darling hypothesis of his own, advanced in print about the nature and attributes of God, which might tempt him to adjust the Scripture doctrine of the Trinity, as well as he could, to it, by far-fetched criticisms and elaborate comments: he viewed it, without any bias, in the several lights of Scripture, reason, and antiquity: he read, he weighed in the balance whatever had been said against it, as well as for it: he conversed upon that
subject

subject with the ablest advocate that Arianism ever boasted, and corresponded with another considerable writer on that side of the question. His determination was not owing to any sudden heat of fancy ; it was the mature result of a thorough, honest, and unwearied examination ; during which, through too close an application, he greatly impaired his health, and laid the foundation of that ill habit of body which at last occasioned his death. How he was, in a manner, forced into the controversy by a person's committing his queries to the press without his consent, or even knowledge, he has given the world an account in the preface of the first of those excellent tracts, as the late Earl of Nottingham justly styles them, when he wrote on that subject. Whereas his adversaries had laid the main stress of their cause upon philosophical subtleties and objections ; particularly that there was no medium for the Catholics between Sabellianism and Tritheism ; he disarmed them of their metaphysical artillery, turned it upon them, and made them seem willing to put the issue of their cause solely on the foot of Scripture. And let me observe, with what an ill grace mere smatterers in knowledge, charge the doctrine of the Trinity with absurdities from the abstract nature and reason of the thing ; when three persons of distinguished abilities (for with three he was at once engaged) were unable, though they did not want an hearty inclination, to make good a charge of that nature.

Arguments under his happy direction and management, were arrows (of which his quiver was full) in the hands of a mighty man ; they carried greater force with them, and made deeper impressions, than when they came from a person of the common size ; and therefore he was not ashamed when he spoke with his ablest adversary in set conferences. His head was an immense library, where

the treasures of learning were ranged in such exact order, that whatever himself or his friends wanted, he could have immediate recourse to, without any embarrassment. A prodigious expence of reading, without a confusion of ideas, is almost the peculiar characteristic of his writings. His works, particularly those upon our Saviour's Divinity, and the Importance of the Doctrine, and the Eucharist, into which he has digested the learning of all preceding ages, will, we may venture to say, be transmitted to, and stand the examination of all succeeding ones. He has so thoroughly exhausted every subject that he wrote a set treatise upon, that it is impossible to hit upon any thing that is not in his writings, or to express that more clearly which is there: Yet, whatever expence of time or thought he might be at in laying in materials, it did not cost him much pains to commit them to writing. The largest volume which he has published, wrote with great accuracy, he in two months finished and sent to the press. Some writers, who have made no inconsiderable figure in the learned world, have been greatly indebted for it, to the valuable notices and observations with which he finished them; but he was so disinterested, that, provided the world was instructed, he was very indifferent who had the honour of doing it. He had so ample a fund of knowledge, that he could impart it liberally, without any danger of impoverishing himself.

Nor was controversy his only talent. His sermons, adapted to the level of common capacities, yet instructive to the highest, were composed with that plainness and simplicity, that persons of a slender share of sense might be vain enough to think themselves capable of writing as well: but men of judgment know that nothing is more difficult to write than such easy writing as his was, free from that obscure diligence which sometimes embarrasses the
the

the writings of great scholars, he states each point of duty judiciously and accurately, explains it happily, and always goes to the bottom of his subject. This character may be given of his writings in general, that, whatever beauties of style some few of his last compositions may want, they have all of them that to recommend them, which is more valuable than all languages besides, the language of the heart. In his learned writings he asserted nothing but what he firmly believed, and in his plain familiar discourses, he taught nothing but what he practised. He spoke and wrote with that undissembled freedom and openness which ever accompanies an undesigning honesty, and a thorough conviction of the truth; which brings me secondly, to give some account of his life and conversation. His head and heart were constantly at work upon points worthy of him; and yet if any company came in, he would be immediately free and disengaged, forget the hard study in the easy companion; listen to any innocent conversation without any seeming absence of thought, and join in it with vivacity. I mention it as an amazing instance of the liberty and extent of his mind, that a person generally intent (too intent with regard to his health) upon great things, could at once, with a quick and sudden transition of thought, enter into the minute affairs and ordinary occurrences of life. But though he would bear a part in any innocent discourse, he had an aversion to the reigning vices of conversation: he was very tender of men's characters, he guided his words, as well as regulated his actions, with discretion; and at the same time that his sagacity enabled him to discover, his charity prompted him to cover and conceal a multitude of faults. The conversation in which he chiefly delighted, was with learned men, who came to consult him; in which, instead of fetching a wide compass round about a meaning, he

entered at once into the heart of a question, with that quickness of apprehension, and perspicuity of expression, which were confessed parts of his character. He saw at one glance, where the main stress of it lay, omitted no material difficulties, and dwelt upon none but what were such; would not divert into by-points, but pared off all excrescence, and never lost sight of the main point till he dismissed you thoroughly satisfied about the question, and what was indeed unquestionable, his own great abilities: he struck light into perplexed and uncommon subjects, and placed even common ones in a clearer and most advantageous point of view. He had an excellent turn for business; for his clearness of reasoning was not confined to learned subjects; it extended almost to all. He would talk and write upon things quite foreign to the common tract of his studies, with such penetration, that one would imagine the main bent of them had been applied that way. Some of his acquaintances are living witnesses of this, who have consulted him, and received satisfaction from him upon very intricate affairs, which had no connection with, or related to divinity: yet his grand abilities were so endeared by his humanity, affability, and condescension, that none, I believe, ever wished them less, but those who were embarked in a way of thinking essentially opposite to his. His knowledge entirely filled, and therefore did not swell or puff up his mind. The brightness of some people is, like that of lightning, an insufferable brightness: his shone upon you with healing in its wings, a gentle, serene, and unoffending lustre. For though at a distance you might admire and reverence the great man, yet, upon a more intimate acquaintance, you could not help loving what you plainly saw, the good man; the man of cool wisdom and steady piety; fixed in his principles, but candid in his spirit. It is the interest of mere pretenders

pretenders to knowledge and greatness to affect a mysterious gravity, and to keep their inferiors at a distance, the idol is not to be seen unveiled, or in a full and open light by its votaries, lest they should discover its deformity.

Dr. Waterland was always easy of access, his carriage free and familiar, his heart, and his countenance, the index of his heart, open to you, without a shy and reserved manner, without stateliness and solemnity; cautious, but not artful, honest, but not unguarded; glad to communicate, though not ambitious to display his great knowledge. He was substantially good, without studying appearances. He hated all party as such, and would never have gone the lengths of any. He never made a sacrifice of true greatness, through an eager pursuit of what the world calls such. The preferments which he had, were bestowed upon him without any application from himself, directly or indirectly: They were not the result of his solicitations, much less of base and unworthy compliances; they were the voluntary tribute of great and good men, for his services to christianity in general, and the church of England in particular. Nor must it be forgotten, that he might have been advanced much higher, by the recommendation and interest of that very excellent prelate, who, in the opinion of every true friend to the church, deservedly filled the highest station in it.

He weighed a thing long, and considered it on every side, before he formed a resolution; but when once he had formed it, he was ever afterwards determined and unmoveable. He saw things truly, because he saw them coolly and dispassionately. He was not one of those narrow-spirited men, who confine all merit within their own pale: he thought candidly, and spoke advantageously of many who thought very differently from him. When any vi-

rulent pamphlet was wrote (as scarce any person had more wrote) against him, it did not discontent or ruffle his temper : He did not detest the author as a malicious enemy ; he pitied him, as an unhappy man. He had nothing violent in his nature ; he abhorred all thoughts of persecution : cool and prudential measures entirely suited his frame of mind. Those who entertain a different opinion of him, were strangers to him. Controversy had not at all embittered, or set an edge upon his spirit. The meek and candid christian was not lost in the disputer of this world. I never saw him in a different humour, no not in his last illness ; the same unaffected chearfulness, the same evenness and sedateness, which was his distinguishing character from the first commencement of our acquaintance to the last. Whatever painful operations were thought necessary, he submitted to them without reluctance, and underwent them with patience and resignation. He was very amiable in a domestic light. Though he felt great uneasiness, he gave none, but what arose from a fellow-feeling of his sufferings ; even then humane and benevolent to all about him, but especially to her, with whom he had lived, in an uninterrupted harmony, for twenty-one years, bringing forth valuable things out of the good treasures of his head and heart, communicative of any thing that was good, he would have engrossed nothing to himself but his sufferings, which yet he could not engross ; for every good-natured person that saw him, could not but suffer with a man, by whom, and from whom they were sure to suffer nothing.

The same sound principles, from which he never swerved, and of which he never expressed the least diffidence, which he had unanswerably defended in his health, supported and invigorated his spirits during his sickness ; and he died a little before his entrance on the fifty-eighth year of his age, with the

the same composure with which he lived ; and is now gone to offer up to God a whole life laid out, or rather worn out in his service. For he was like a light in the sanctuary, that wastes and consumes itself in shining out before men, that they may glorify their Father which is in heaven. Never weary with well doing, he knew not what it was to be idle : the time never lay upon his hands, and therefore he was a stranger to the spleen, melancholy, and imaginary uneasiness, which are often as vexatious as real ones : He was a remarkable instance, that hard study does not always sour a man's temper, though idleness most certainly does, the parent of fretfulness, peevishness, and an acrimony of spirit. In health he was always easy, because never idle ; always employed in, but never incumbered with business. He resolved cases of conscience, he removed doubts and scruples : his assistance was often asked, and never, I believe, refused, when any useful work of learning was on foot.

What chiefly endeared him was, not that he had gained a compleat victory over Ariens and Socinians ; it was that he had gained (a much nobler conquest) a conquest over himself, for his reason seemed to have got the better as much over his passions in matters of practice, as it had over his imagination in matters of belief.

I have now paid the debt of gratitude which I owed to a great and good man, of the clearest head I ever conversed with, and what is still more valuable, of an honest heart ; who never, through weakness, mistook, nor, through fear, deserted, nor through interest, betrayed the cause of religion. I shall reckon it my greatest honour, that I am, in a particular manner, obliged to him ; to whom the christian world in general is obliged for his excellent works, whom I revered as a father, to whom I had recourse as my guide, and who received me al-

ways with that genuine flow of good-nature and openness of soul, which distinguishes the friend. It is a melancholy reflection, that whoever dares vigorously assert, and steadfastly adhere to the doctrines of the church of England, must expect to be branded with approbrious terms, and decried as a bigot. It will be of little avail to him that his abilities are uncommon ; his notions must be so too, to recommend them to the vogue of the age. As if some men were not liable to a fond attachment, or (what is the same thing) bigotry to their own singular notions, sometimes the result of pride and vanity, as others are to the received, the fundamental notions of a Protestant church, which have stood the test of ages, ever attacked and ever triumphant. Our own particular darling tenets, by which we stand distinguished from the bulk of christians, we look upon as our private inclosures, our private walks, in which we have a property exclusive of others, and which we take care to cultivate, beautify, and fence in against all invaders : the received notions, however important, we are more indifferent to, as the common field, or public walks, which lie open to every body. At such a juncture, it cannot be improper, however unfashionable it may be, to bear my testimony to the merit of a man, who dared to think deeply and thoroughly for himself, though he did not think by himself. And give me leave to conclude his character by observing, that a man must have had an exceeding good, or an exceeding bad head and heart, who could converse oft and long with him, without becoming wiser as to the former, or better as to the latter.

XV. *The Life of Sir Isaac Newton.*

SIR Isaac Newton, a most celebrated English philosopher and mathematician, and one of the greatest geniuses that ever appeared in the world, was descended of an ancient family, which had been settled above three centuries upon the manor of Woolthorpe in Lincolnshire, where this prodigy was born, on Christmas-day, 1642, O. S. He lost his father in his infancy, so that the care of his education fell to his mother *, who, being a woman of excellent good sense, though she married again soon after his father's death, did not neglect her son by him. At twelve years of age she put him to the free grammar-school at Grantham, in the same county; and after some years spent there, took him home, with the view of introducing him into country business, that he might sooner be able to manage his own estate himself: but finding him stick close to his books, without any turn to business, she resolved not to cross his inclination, and sent him back to Grantham, where he staid till he was eighteen years of age, when he removed to Trinity-College, in Cambridge, in 1660. He had not been long at the University, when he turned his thoughts to the mathematics, wherein Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Isaac Barrow, then Fellow of his College, was very eminent.

In this study he set out in the usual method, and first took up Euclid; but that author was soon dismissed; he seemed to him too plain and simple, and unworthy of spending his time thereon. He understood the several demonstrations at the first reading, and a cast of his eye upon the contents of the the-

* Her maiden name was Hannah Ayscough, and was also descended from an ancient family of worth.

orems was sufficient to make him master of them * ; and, as the analytical method of Des Cartes was then most in vogue, he particularly applied himself to that method, and perused the book written therein, and made several improvements, which he inserted in marginal notes as he went along. Thus he was employed in 1663 ; and the following year he opened a way into his new method of infinite series and fluxions. The same year, 1664, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts †. In the mean time, he observed the greatest mathematical wits engaged in the business of improving telescopes, by grinding glasses into one of the figures made by the three sections of a cone, which, upon the principle then generally entertained, that light was homogeneous, had been demonstrated by Des Cartes, in his Dioptics, in order to bring that instrument to perfection.

Some private affairs drew him about this time into Lincolnshire, for a short space ; but he was no sooner got back to the college, than he applied himself to the grinding of optic glasses, of other figures than spherical, having no distrust as yet of the homogeneous nature of light ; but not hitting presently upon any thing in this attempt, which succeeded to his mind, he procured a glass prism, in order to try the celebrated phænomena of colours, discovered by Grimaldi not long before. He was much pleased at first with the vivid brightness of the colours produced by this experiment ; but after a while applying himself to consider them in a philosophical way, with that circumspection which was natural to him, he became immediately surprized to see them in an oblong form, which, according to the received rule of refractions, ought to be circu-

* His Eloge by Fontenelle, and that of the University.

† From the College Register.

lar. At first, he thought the irregularity might possibly be no more than accidental; but this was what he could not leave without further inquiry: accordingly, he soon invented an infallible method of deciding the question, and the result was his new theory of light and colours *.

However, the theory alone, unexpected and surprising as it was, did not satisfy him; he rather considered the proper use that might be made of it for improving telescopes, which was his first design. To this end, having now discovered that light was not homogeneous, but an heterogeneous mixture of differently refrangible rays, he computed the errors arising from this different refrangibility, and finding them to exceed some hundreds of time those occasioned by the circular figure of the glasses, he threw aside his glass works, and took reflections into consideration. He was now sensible that optical instruments might be brought to any degree of perfection desired, in case there could be found a reflecting substance which would polish as finely as glass, and reflect as much light as glass transmits, and the art of giving it a parabolical figure he also attained: But these seemed to him very great difficulties; nay he almost thought them insuperable, when he further considered, that every irregularity in a reflecting superficies makes the rays stray five or six times more from their due course, than the like irregularities in a refracting one.

Amidst these thoughts, he was forced from Cambridge in 1665, by the plague; and it was more than two years before he made any further progress therein. However he was far from passing the time idly in the country; on the contrary, it was here, at this time, that he first started the hint that gave rise to the system of the world, which is the main

* Philosophical Transactions, No. 80, 81.

subject of his Principia. He was sitting alone in a garden, when some apples, falling from a tree, led his thoughts upon the subject of gravity ; and, reflecting on the power of that principle, he began to consider, that, as this power is not found to be sensibly diminished at the remotest distance from the center of the earth to which we can rise, neither at the tops of the loftiest buildings, nor on the summits of the highest mountains, it appeared to him reasonable to conclude, that this power must extend much further than is usually thought. Why not as high as the moon ? said he to himself, “ and if so, “ her motion must be influenced by it ; perhaps she “ is retained in her orbit thereby : However, “ though the power of gravity is not sensibly weakened in the little change of distance at which we “ can place ourselves from the center of the earth, “ yet it is very possible that, as high as the moon, “ this power may differ in strength much from what “ it is here.” To make an estimate what might be the degree of this diminution, he considered with himself, that, if the moon be retained in her orbit by the force of gravity, no doubt the primary planets are carried about the sun by the like power ; and, by comparing the periods of the several planets with their distances from the sun, he found, that, if any power like gravity held them in their courses, its strength must decrease in the duplicate proportion of the increase of distance. This he concluded, by supposing them to move in perfect circles, concentric to the sun, from which the orbits of the greatest parts of them do not much differ. Supposing therefore, the power of gravity, when extended to the moon, to decrease in the same manner, he computed whether that force would be sufficient to keep the moon in her orbit.

In this computation, being absent from books, he took the common estimate in use among the geographers

graphers and our seamen, before Norwood had measured the earth, that sixty English miles complete one degree of latitude ; but, as that is a very faulty supposition, each degree containing about sixty-nine and an half of our English miles, his computation upon it did not make the power of gravity, decreasing in a duplicate proportion to the distance, answerable to the power which retained the moon in her orbit : whence he concluded, that some other cause must at least join with the action of the power of gravity on the moon. For this reason, he laid aside, for that time, any further thoughts upon the matter *.

Nor did he resume it on his return to Cambridge, which was shortly after ; and in the following year, 1667, was chosen Fellow of his college, and took the degree of Master of Arts †. The truth is, his thoughts were now engaged upon his newly-projected reflecting telescope, of which he made a small instrument, with an object-metal spherically concave. It was but a rude essay, chiefly defective in the want of a good polish for the metal ‡. This therefore he set himself to find out, when Dr. Barrow resigning the mathematical chair at Cambridge to him, in November 1669 §, the business of that post interrupted for a while his attention to the telescope : However, as his thoughts had been for some time chiefly employed upon optics, he made his discoveries in that science the subject of his lectures for the three first years after he was appointed

* Preface to Mr. Pemberton's Review, &c. Mr. Whiston says he told him, that he thought Des Cartes's Vortices might concur with the motion of gravity.

Whiston's Memoirs, &c. p. 33, edit. 1753.

† From the Registers of the university and the college.

‡ This instrument is now in the possession of the Royal Society.

§ The same year he wrote a letter to Francis Ayton, Esq, containing advice for his Travels ; a copy of which is inserted in the General Dictionary.

mathematical professor: He had not finished them, when he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in January 1671-2 *, and having now brought his theory of light and colours to a great degree of perfection, he communicated it to that society first, to have their judgment upon it; and it was afterwards published in their Transactions of February 19, 1672. This publication occasioned a dispute upon the truth of it, which gave him so much uneasiness, that he resolved to publish nothing further for a while upon the subject; and in that resolution laid up his optical lectures, notwithstanding he had prepared them for the press; and the analysis by infinite series; which he designed to subjoin thereto; unhappily for the world underwent the same fate, and for the same reason.

In this temper he resumed his telescope; and observing that there was no absolute necessity for the parabolic figure of the glasses, since, if metals could be ground truly spherical, they would be able to bear as great apertures as men could give a polish to, he compleated another instrument of this kind, which answering the purpose so well, as, though it was only half a foot in length, yet he had seen with it the planet Jupiter distinctly round, as also his four satellites, and Venus horned, he sent it to the Royal Society; at their request, together with a description of it, with further particulars, and it was published in the Philosophical Transactions for March, this year, 1672: Several attempts were also made by that society to bring it to perfection, but for want of a proper composition of metal, and a good polish, nothing succeeded, and the invention lay dormant, till Mr. Hadley made his Newtonian telescope in 1723 †.

* Birch's History of the Royal Society.

† Gregory's Dioptrics, by Desaguliers, in the appendix, edit. 1737.

At the request of Mr. Leibnitz, in 1676, he explained his invention of infinite series, and took notice how far he had improved it by his method of fluxions, which, however, he still concealed, and particularly on this occasion, by a transposition of the letters that make up the two fundamental propositions of it, into an alphabetical order *.

In the winter between this year and the next, 1677, he found the grand proposition, that, by a centripetal force acting reciprocally as the squares of the distance, a planet must revolve in an ellipsis, about the center of force placed in the lower focus of the ellipsis, and with a radius down to that center, describe areas proportional to the times †.

Hereupon he drew up near a dozen propositions, relating to the motion of the primary planets round the sun, which were communicated to the Royal Society in the latter end of the year 1683. This coming to be known to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Hadley, that gentleman, who had attempted the demonstration in vain, applied, in August 1684, to Sir Isaac, who assured him that he had absolutely compleated the thing, and sending it to him in November following, this was also registered in the books of the Royal Society, at whose earnest solicitations he finished the work, which came out in quarto, about Midsummer 1687, under the title of, "*Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*," containing in the third book, what is now known by the name of the Cometic Astronomy, which had been lately discovered by him, and now made its first appearance in the world ‡.

* These letters are inserted in the *Commercium Epistolicum*, Johan. Collins, &c. in 1712.

† General Dictionary, from the relation of William Jones, Esq;

‡ See Dr. Halley's article in this work, and in the *Biographia Britannica*.

This piece, however, in which our author has built a new system of natural philosophy upon the most sublime geometry; did not meet at first with all the applause it deserved, and was one day to receive. Two reasons concurred in producing this effect; Des Cartes had then got full possession of the world. His philosophy was indeed the creature of a fine imagination, gaily dressed in a tempting metaphorical stile. He had given her likewise some of nature's true features, and painted the rest to a seeming of nature's likeness, with a smile upon the countenance; besides what even she said was very easily understood, and thus she yielded herself up, without any great difficulty, to her votaries; upon these accounts people in general even took unkindly an attempt to awake them out of so pleasing a dream. On the other, Mr. Newton had, with an unparalleled penetration, and unexampled strength of brain, pursued nature up to her most secret abode, and was intent to demonstrate her residence to others, rather than anxious to point out the way by which he arrived at it himself: He finished his piece in that elegant conciseness, which had justly gained the ancients an universal esteem. In truth, the consequences flow with such rapidity from the principles, that the reader is often left to supply a long chain of reasoning to connect them; therefore it required some time before the world could understand it: The best mathematicians were obliged to study it with care, before they could make themselves masters of it, and those of a lower rank durst not venture upon it, till encouraged by the testimonies of the most learned.

But at last, when its worth came to be sufficiently known, the approbation which had been so slowly gained, became universal, and nothing was to be heard from all quarters, but one general shout of admiration. " Does Mr. Newton eat, drink, or sleep like other
" men?"

“men?” says the Marquis de L’Hospital, one of the greatest mathematicians of the age, to the English who visited him. “I represent him to myself as a celestial genius intirely disengaged from matter*.”

Ever since the first discovery concerning the heterogeneous mixture of light, and the production of colours arising thence, he had employed a good part of his time in bringing the experiment, upon which the theory is founded, to a degree of exactness that might satisfy himself. The truth is, this seems to be his favourite invention; thirty years he had spent in this arduous task, before he published it in 1704. In infinite series and fluxions, and in the power and rule of gravity in preserving the solar system, there had been some, though distant hints, given by others before him †; whereas, in dissecting a ray of light into its primary constituent particles, which then admitted of no further separation; in the discovery of the different refrangibility of these particles thus separated; and that these constituent rays had each its own peculiar colour inherent in it; that rays falling in the same angle of incidence, have alternate fits of reflection and refraction; that bodies are rendered transparent by the minuteness of their pores, and become opaque by having them large; and that the most transparent body, by having a great thinness, will become less pervious to the light: In all these, which made up his new theory of light and colours, he was absolutely and intirely the first starter; and, as the subject is of the most subtle and delicate nature, he thought it necessary to be himself the last finisher of it.

* Fontenelle’s Eloge. Voltaire’s Letters concerning the English nation, No. 14. and preface to *Recueil de divers pieces sur la philosophie*. Amstord. 1720.

† Viz. by Fermat and Lord Neper. See *Biographia Britannica*.

This same year, and in the same book with his optics, he published, for the first time, his method of fluxions. It has been already observed, that these two inventions were intended for the public so long before as the year 1672; but were laid by then in order to prevent his being engaged on that account in a dispute about them. And it is not a little remarkable, that even now this last piece proved the occasion for another dispute, which held many years. Ever since the year 1684, Mr. Leibnitz had been artfully working the world into an opinion, that he first invented this method: Sir Isaac saw his design from the beginning, and upon that account had sufficiently obviated it in the first edition of his *Principia* in 1687*: and with the same view, when he now published that method, he took occasion to acquaint the world, that he invented it in the years 1665 and 1666. In the *Acta Eruditorum* of Leipzig, where an account is given of this book, the author took occasion from it to ascribe the invention to Mr. Leibnitz, intimating, that Mr. Newton borrowed it from him. Mr. Keill, astronomical professor at Oxford, undertook Sir Isaac's defence, and for proof referred to the papers of the Royal Society, who thereupon published a further defence in 1712†.

In the year 1715, Mr. Leibnitz, in the view of bringing the world more easily into the belief, that Sir Isaac had taken the method of fluxions from his differential method, attempted to foil his mathematical skill by the famous problem of the trajectories, which he therefore proposed to the English by way of challenge; but the solution of this, though it was the most difficult proposition, the utmost wit of his antagonist, after a great deal of study for the pur-

* Viz. In the Scholium to the second Lemma of the second book of his *Principia*, first edition.

† Under the title of *Commercium Epistolicum*, Johan. Collins, &c. as before, 8vo. See also the article of John Keill.

pose, was able to devise, and indeed might pass for a considerable performance in any other: yet was it hardly any more than an amusement to our etherial genius: He received the problem at four o'clock in the afternoon, as he was returning from the Mint; and, though extremely fatigued with business, yet he finished the solution before he went to bed *.

Sometime before this, in the eightieth year of his age, he was seized with an incontinence of urine, thought to proceed from the stone in the bladder, and judged to be incurable; however, by the help of a strict regimen, and other precautions, which till then he never had occasion for, he procured great intervals of ease during the five remaining years of his life: yet he was not free from some paroxysms, which even forced out large drops of sweat that ran down his face. In these circumstances he was never observed to utter the least complaint, nor express the least impatience; and as soon as he had a moment's ease, he would smile and talk with his usual chearfulness. Till this time he had always read and writ several hours in a day; but he was now obliged to rely upon Mr. Conduitt, who had married his niece †, for the discharge of his office in the Mint. On Saturday morning, March 18, 1726-7, he read the news-papers, and discoursed a long time with Dr. Mead, his physician; having then the per-

* Fontenelle's Eloge; it is true Leibnitz's friends objected to the solution, but in such a manner as shewed their envy, and at the same time their impatience.

† This niece, before her marriage to Conduitt, was widow of Col. Barton; she was a distinguished beauty, and as such is celebrated in a poem called, *The Toasts*, printed among the State poems. In her widowhood she was entertained by Mr. Montague, then Lord Halifax, who was very liberal to her at his death. Sir Isaac also settled an annuity of 100*l.* upon her; she had a daughter by this last match, who was married to Lord Sempster. Mr. Conduitt succeeded his uncle Sir Isaac in the Mint. See his monument in Westminster-Abby, on the left hand near the entrance into the West-door, facing that of Sir Isaac.

fect use of all his senses and his understanding; but that night he entirely lost them all; and, not recovering them afterwards, he died on the Monday following, which was March 20, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His corpse lay in state in the Jerusalem-Chamber, and on the 28th was conveyed into Westminster-Abbey, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, and the Earls of Pembroke, Sussex and Macclesfield holding up the pall. He was interred near the entrance into the choir on the left hand, where a stately monument is erected to his memory.

His character has been attempted by Mr. Fontenelle and Dr. Pemberton, the substance whereof is as follows:

To begin with his person: He was of a middling stature, and somewhat inclined to be fat in the latter part of his life. His countenance was pleasing and venerable at the same time, especially when he took off his peruke, and shewed his white hair, which was pretty thick. He never made use of spectacles, and lost but one tooth during his whole life. But Mr. Fontenelle seems to have been misinformed, when he tells us, that he had a very lively and piercing eye, as was remarked by Bishop Atterbury*, who assures us, that this part of beauty did not belong to our author, at least for twenty years before his death, about which time the Bishop became acquainted with him; on the contrary he observes, that, in the whole air of Sir Isaac's face and make, there was nothing of that penetrating sagacity which appears in his compositions; that he had something rather languid in his look and manner, which did not raise any great expectation in those who did not know him.

* Letters from Dr. Atterbury to Mr. Thiriot.

He was of a very meek disposition, and a great lover of peace; he would rather have chosen to remain in obscurity, than to have the calm of life ruffled by those storms and disputes which genius and learning always draw upon those that are too eminent for them. In contemplating his genius, it presently becomes a doubt, which of these endowments had the greatest share; sagacity, penetration, strength, or diligence; and, after all, the mark that seems most to distinguish it, is, that he himself made the justest estimation of it, declaring, that if he had done the world any service, it was due to nothing but industry and patient thought *; that he kept the subject, under consideration, constantly before him, and waited till the first dawning opened gradually, by little and little, into a full and clear light, and hence no doubt arose of that unusual kind of horror which he had for all disputes; a steady unbroken attention, free from those frequent recoilings inseparably incident to others, was his peculiar felicity; he knew it, and he knew the value of it. No wonder then, that controversy was looked on as his bane, when some objections hastily made to his discoveries concerning light and colours, induced him to lay aside the design he had of publishing his optic lectures; we find him reflecting on that dispute, into which he was unavoidably drawn thereby, in these terms: "I blamed my own imprudence for parting with so real a blessing as my quiet, to run after a shadow †." It is true this shadow, as Mr. Fontenelle observes, did not escape him afterwards, nor did it cost him that quiet which he so much valued, but proved as much a real happiness to him as his quiet itself; yet this was a happiness of his own making; he took a resolution, from

* Four letters to Dr. Bentley, &c. Letter the first in the beginning.

† *Commercium Epistol. Jo. Collins, &c.*

these disputes, not to publish any more about that theory, till he had put it above the reach of controversy, by the exactest experiments and the strictest demonstrations; and accordingly it has never been called in question since. In the same temper, after he had sent the manuscript of his *Principia* to the Royal Society, with his consent to the printing of it by them; yet, upon Mr. Hooke's injuriously insisting that himself had demonstrated Kepler's problem before our author, he determined, rather than be involved again in a controversy, to suppress the third book; and was very hardly prevailed upon to alter that resolution. It is true, the public was thereby a gainer; that book, which is indeed no more than a corollary of some propositions in the first, being originally drawn up in the popular way, with a design to publish it in that form: whereas, he was now convinced, that it would be best not to let it go abroad without a strict demonstration.

After all, notwithstanding his anxious care to avoid every occasion of breaking his intense application to study, he was at a great distance from being steeped in philosophy; on the contrary, he could lay aside his thoughts, though engaged in the most intricate researches, when his other affairs required his attendance; and, as soon as he had leisure, resume the subject at the point where he had left off. This he seems to have done not so much by any extraordinary strength of memory, as by the force of his inventive faculty, to which every thing opened itself again with ease, if nothing intervened to ruffle him. The readiness of his invention made him not think of putting his memory much to the trial; but this was the offspring of a vigorous intenseness of thought, out of which he was but a common man. He spent, therefore, the prime of his age in those abstruse researches, when his situation in a College gave

gave him leisure, and even while study was his proper profession.

But as soon as he was removed to the Mint, he applied himself chiefly to the business of that office, and so far quitted mathematics and philosophy, as not to engage in any pursuits of either kind afterwards.

Dr. Pemberton observes, that, though his memory was much decayed in the last years of his life, yet he perfectly understood his own writings, contrary to what I had formerly heard, says the Doctor, in discourse from many persons. This opinion of theirs might arise, perhaps, from his not being always ready at speaking on these subjects, when it might be expected he should. But as to this it may be observed, that great geniuses are frequently liable to be absent, not only in relation to common life, but with regard to some of the parts of science that they are best informed of: Inventors seem to treasure up in their minds what they have found out, after another manner, than those do the same things, who have not this inventive faculty. The former, when they have occasion to produce their knowledge, are in some measure obliged immediately to investigate part of what they want; for this they are not equally fit at all times: so it has often happened, that such as retain things chiefly by means of a very strong memory, have appeared off-hand more expert than the discoverers themselves*.

It was evidently owing to the same inventive faculty that Sir Isaac, as this writer found, had read

* This conduct might also in some measure be owing to the injurious use that had been made of his freedom in communicating, by Leibnitz, Hooke, Abbe Conti, and Whiston; whose behaviour had given that caution, which was innate to him, such a reserve as bordered upon the suspicious. However, he did not suffer these injuries to pass uncensured, by returning properly spirited, as well as irrefragable answers, in his own vindication.

fewer of the modern mathematicians than one could have expected, his own prodigious invention readily supplying him with what he might have occasion for in the pursuit of any subject he undertook, However, he often censured the handling geometrical subjects by algebraic calculations; and his book of algebra he called by the name of Universal Arithmetic, in opposition to the injudicious title of Geometry, which Des Cartes had given to the treatise, wherein he shews, how the geometer may assist his invention by such kind of computations. He frequently praised Slusius, Barrow, and Huygens, for not being influenced by the false taste which then began to prevail. He used to commend the laudable attempt of Hugh de Omerique to restore the ancient analysis; and very much esteemed Apollonius's book *De Sectione Rationis*, for giving us a clearer notion of that analysis than we had before. Dr. Barrow may be esteemed as having shewn a compass of invention equal, if not superior, to any of the moderns, our author only excepted; but Sir Isaac particularly recommended Huygens's style and manner: he thought him the most elegant of any mathematical writer, of modern times, and the most just imitator of the ancients. Of their taste and form of demonstration Sir Isaac always professed himself a great admirer *, and often cen-

* Bishop Atterbury having observed, that Fontenelle's praise of Sir Isaac's modesty (and of modesty in general) was to him the most pleasing part of that description he has given us of him, proceeds thus: "It is that modesty which will teach us to speak and think of the ancients with reverence, especially if we happen not to be thoroughly acquainted with them. Sir Isaac certainly was, and his great veneration for them was one distinguishing part of his character, which I wonder (or rather I do not wonder) that Mr. Fontenelle has omitted. His opinion of them was, that they were men of great genius and superior minds, who had carried their discoveries, particularly in astronomy, and other parts of mathematics, much farther than now appears from what remains of their writings."

fired himself for not following them yet more closely than he did, and spoke with regret of his mistake at the beginning of his mathematical studies, in applying himself to the works of Des Cartes, and other algebraic writers, before he had considered the Elements of Euclid with that attention which so excellent a writer deserves.

But, if this was a fault, it is certain it was a fault to which we owe both his great inventions in speculative mathematics, the doctrine of infinite series and fluxions: and, perhaps, this might be one reason why Sir Isaac's particular reverence for the ancients is omitted by Mr. Fontenelle, who, however, certainly makes some amends by that just eulogium which he makes of our author's modesty, which amiable quality he represents as standing foremost in the character of this great man's mind and manners. It was in reality greater than can be easily imagined, or will be readily believed; yet it always continued so without any alteration, though the whole world, says Fontenelle, conspired against it; let us add, though he was thereby robbed of his invention of fluxions. Nicholas Mercator publishing his Logarithmotechnia in 1668, where he gave the quadrature of the hyperbola by an infinite series, which was the first appearance in the learned world of a series of this sort, drawn from the particular nature of the curve, and that in a manner very new and abstracted, Dr. Barrow, then at Cambridge, where Mr. Newton, then about twenty-six years of age, resided, recollected, that he had met with the same thing in the writings of that young gentleman, and there not confined to the hyperbola only, but extended, by general forms, to all sorts of curves, even such as are mechanical; to their quadratures, their rectifications, and their centers of gravity; to the solids formed by their relations, and to the superficies of those solids; so that, when their determinations

determinations were possible, the series stopped at a certain point, or at least their sums were given by stated rules: and, if the absolute determinations were impossible, they could yet be infinitely approximated; which is the happiest and most refined method, says Mr. Fontenelle, of supplying the defects of human knowledge that man's imagination could possibly invent. To be master of so fruitful and general a theory was a mine of gold to a geometrician; but it was a greater glory to have been the discoverer of so surprizing and ingenious a system. So that Mr. Newton finding by Mercator's book, that he was in the way to it, and that others might follow in his tract, should naturally have been forward to open his treasures, and secure the property, which consisted in making the discovery; but he contented himself with his treasure which he had found, without regarding the glory. What an idea does it give us of his unparalleled modesty, when we see him declaring, that he thought Mercator had intirely discovered his secret, or that others would, before he was of a proper age for writing? His manuscript upon infinite series was communicated to none but Mr. John Collins, that attorney-general of the Mathematical Republic, and the Lord Brouncker, who had also done something in this way; and even that had not been complied with, but for Dr. Barrow, who would not suffer him to indulge his modesty so much as he desired*.

It is further observed, concerning this part of his character, that he never talked either of himself or others, nor ever behaved in such a manner, as to give the most malicious censurers the least occasion even to suspect him of vanity. He was candid and affable, and always put himself upon a level with his company. He never thought either his merit,

* *Commercium Epistolicum*, as before.

or his reputation, sufficient to excuse him from any of the common offices of social life ; no singularities, either natural or affected, distinguished him from other men. Though he was firmly attached to the church of England *, he was averse to the persecution of the Nonconformists. He judged of men by their manners, and the true Schismatics, in his opinion, were the vicious and the wicked ; not that he confined his principles to natural religion, for he was thoroughly persuaded of the truth of revelation ; and amidst the great variety of books which he had constantly before him, that which he studied with the greatest application was the bible : and he understood the nature and force of moral certainty, as well as he did that of a strict demonstration †. He did not neglect the opportunities of doing good, when the revenues of his patrimony, and a profitable employment, improved by a prudent œconomy, put it in his power ‡. When decency, upon any occasion, required expence and shew, he was magnificent without grudging it, and with a very good grace ; at all other times, that pomp which seems great to low minds only, was utterly retrenched, and the expence reserved for better uses. He never married, and perhaps he never had leisure to think

* He is represented indeed as an Arian by Mr. Whiston, who, however, tells us, that he was so angry with him, that he would never suffer him to enter as a member of the Royal Society, while he sat at the head of it.

Whiston's *Memoirs of his own Life*, vol. i. edit. 1753.

† We are told, that, when Dr. Bentley asked him bluntly once, " Whether he could demonstrate his opinion, that, by a day in the " Prophetic language, was meant a year ?" Sir Isaac was so greatly offended at it, as invidiously alluding to his being a mathematician, that he would not see him for twelve months after.

Whiston's *Memoirs of his own Life*, vol. i. edit. 1753.

‡ We have two remarkable instances of his bounty and generosity ; one to Mr. Maclaurin, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh, to whom he offered 20 l. per annum ; and the other to his niece Barton, who had an annuity of 100 l. per annum settled upon her by him.

of

letters. He knew his mother, who in her way was a woman of merit : He spoke to her, and told her that it was absolutely necessary to make him a student. Her own opinion also suggested something of the same kind to her, but reasons stronger in appearance always opposed it. She was become a widow, without any resource on the side of fortune but carrying on her husband's trade. Her children were the only support she had, and she was not in a condition to be at expences to give any of them a different education.

The good Monk, far from desisting, continued his instances ; and the principal obstacle having been removed, by obtaining a scholarship in the college of the XVIII. the fate of young Rollin was decided in consequence, and from thenceforth he appeared in a quite different light, even in the eyes of his mother.

She began by perceiving more wit and delicacy in his manner of address and obedience. She soon after was sensible of the progress he made, which was talked of every where, and not without a kind of astonishment ; and what undoubtedly was no less grateful to her, was to see the parents of his fellow-students, of the most distinguished birth and rank, send or come themselves to desire that she would permit her son to pass holydays with them, and be the companion of their pleasures as well as of their studies.

At the head of these illustrious parents, was the minister Mr. le Peletier, whose two eldest sons had found a formidable competitor in this new comer. Their father, who perfectly knew the advantages of emulation, was solicitous to increase it. When the young scholar was Imperator, which frequently happened, he sent him the same present as he did to his sons, and the latter loved him though their rival ; they carried him home with them in their coach ;

coach ; they set him down at his mother's when he had business there, and waited for him : and one day, observing that he took the first place without ceremony, she was going to reprimand him sharply for want of good manners ; but the Præceptor humbly answered, that Mr. Peletier had given orders, that they should always place themselves in the coach according to their rank in the class.

This brief account of Mr. Rollin's progress his studies will suffice, and we the more willingly suppress other particulars of it, as with some little differences, such details are but too often introduced into the historical eulogies of the members of the academy it is deprived of by death. But we cannot dispense with relating, however, that when he studied rhetoric in the college of Plessis, under the celebrated Mr. Herfan, who was studious to excite the ardour of his pupils by honourable epithets, that Professor said publicly, that he did not know by what term to distinguish young Rollin sufficiently, and that he was sometimes tempted to denominate him Divine. He referred almost all those who asked him for compositions in verse or prose to his disciple : Apply to him, said he, he will do it much better than I.

Sometime after, a Minister, to whom nothing could be refused, Mr. Louvois, engaged Mr. Herfan to quit the College of Plessis to be with the Abbot de Louvois, his son, of whose education he took great care, and who gave great hopes of his proficiency. Mr. Rollin was then only in his twenty-third year, and so early was considered as worthy to succeed Mr. Herfan. He was the only one of a different opinion, and it was not without doing violence to him that it was resolved he should be second Professor, as Mr. Herfan had been before he was advanced to the chair of Professor of rhetoric, which he also had some years after him ; and what completed the entire conformity between them, was, that Mr. Herfan, who

who had the survivorship of a chair of eloquence in the College Royal, resigned that also (with the King's permission) in favour of Mr. Rollin.

The necessity of composing tragedies for the distribution of prizes at the end of every year, was the only thing that gave Mr. Rollin some difficulty. However sensible he was in other respects to the beauties of the ancient dramatic poets, he was convinced, that such representations did not suit Colleges, where they only made masters and scholars lose precious time; and it was remembered on this occasion, that Mr. le Peletier having been desirous, that some should be played at his house by his sons and the young persons he had associated with them in their studies, Mr. Rollin was the only one, who could never be prevailed upon to act any part. A certain fund of ingenuous modesty, that attended him in every part of his character, prevented him from taking upon him only for an instant any strange personage.

Excepting almost only this circumstance, no professor exercised his functions in a more shining manner. He often made Latin orations, in which he celebrated the events of the times; as the first victories of the Dauphin, the taking of Philipsburgh, and the following campaigns. But the Greek language always seemed to him to deserve the preference. It had begun to be neglected in the schools of the University: He revived the study, and was the true restorer of it. He very much regretted, that the custom of disputing in Greek had been discontinued. Mr. Boivin, jun. had set the last example of it: and not having sufficient authority to re-establish it, he introduced another still more useful, that of public exercises upon the ancient Greek and Latin authors. He chose the youngest sons of Mr. le Peletier to do the first of these exercises, and the applauses they received, excited an emulation in the other Colleges,
which

which still subsists. Mr. Rollin usually augmented the lustre of them by pieces of poetry, which he addressed, sometimes to those who performed these exercises, sometimes to their parents; and many of these pieces are printed. Mr. le Peletier carefully preserved the original of that, which Mr. Rollin inscribed to him upon the exercise of his sons. He composed three upon those of the Abbot de Louvois: and the third is remarkable for explaining clearly and with inimitable graces the print of the famous Theses, which the Marquis of Louvois, his father, made him dedicate to the King on his return from taking Mons. With these talents were united an indefatigable zeal, and such a discernment of different geniuses, that he instantly saw what they were capable of, and the method to be used in their instruction. His capacity in checking impetuosity, and exalting courage, in sparing delicacy, and subduing indolence, enabled him to form abundance of learned men and excellent Professors, and to give the Clergy, Bench, and even profession of arms, persons of great merit. The Premier-President M. Portail, used sometimes to tell him, by way of jest, that he had made him labour too hard: and Mr. Rollin seriously replied; "It becomes you indeed to complain of that, Sir. It is that application to business which distinguished you in the office of Attorney-General, and raised you to that of Premier-President: you are indebted to me for your fortune."

After having been eight or ten years successively Professor in the College of Plessis; Mr. Rollin quitted it, to devote himself entirely to the study of history, retaining of his public functions only the chair of eloquence in the Royal College, which he held, however, only with the title of Survivorship, without any advantage: But he had an estate of about 6 or 700 livres a-year (about 35l. sterling) and believed himself extremely rich.

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The University, that perceived their loss in the retreat of Mr. Rollin, soon recalled him. He was chosen Rector or Principal at the end of 1694, and was continued so two years, which was then a great distinction. In this quality he twice pronounced the panegyric upon the King in the schools of Sorbonne, which the city had lately founded. Never were audiences more numerous and polite. The two orations were considered as master-pieces; and especially the last, the subject of which was the establishment of the Invalids. And, however, as if that subject had not sufficed the fertility of Mr. Rollin's genius, the same day he caused an ode, upon the other ornaments of Paris, to be distributed in the assembly. The description of its gates alone, as triumphal arches, formed in this poem a new panegyric still more worthy of the hero.

What we find in the Memoirs of Mr. Amelot de la Houffage, in the article of precedencies, is to be dated at this time. He says there, that, at a public disputation in civil law, the Principal, Charles Rollin, would never suffer the Archbishop of Sens (Fortin de la Hoguette) to take place of him. It is not necessary to add, that at all other times, and on every other occasion, he would never have disputed place with any one.

The end of Mr. Rollin's Rectorship did not entirely restore his liberty. The Cardinal de Noailles engaged him to take upon him the directions of his nephew's studies, who were at the College of Laon; and he applied himself to this with pleasure, when Mr. Vittement, to whom the education of the children of France was given, earnestly desired to resign his coadjutorship in the office of Principal of the College of Beauvais to Mr. Rollin. The latter made great difficulty to accept of it; and it appears, from some of the printed letters of the Abbe Duguet, that it was he who determined him to do so.

The Collège of Beauvais, now so flourishing, was then a kind of desert, in which there were very few scholars, and no discipline; and what seemed to make it impossible ever to re-establish order and application in it, was its being united with another college of the same nature. We shall not say in what manner Mr. Rollin succeeded in placing it in honour, and to people it almost beyond what it could contain. We may imagine justly that all the talents were necessary, which himself requires in a good Principal in his Treatise upon Study. It is common enough for great masters to prescribe the true duties of an office, only by repeating, without thinking of it, the manner in which themselves have discharged them.

And accordingly nothing equalled the confidence people had in him. A rich man of the country, who knew him only by reputation, brought his son to him to be admitted to board as a scholar in the college of Beauvais, not believing that would admit of any difficulty. Mr. Rollin excused himself from receiving him, because there was not an inch of room to spare; and to convince him of that, he carried him through all the apartments. The father, in despair, did not express himself by vain exclamations. I am come, said he, expressly to Paris; I shall set out to-morrow; I shall send you my son with a bed; I have none but him; you may lodge him in the court-yard, or in the cellar, if you please, but he shall be in your college, and from this moment I shall give myself no farther pain about it. He did as he said. Mr. Rollin was reduced to admit the young man, and to lodge him in his own closet, till he could provide an usual place for him.

In 1712 he quitted the office of Principal of Beauvais, to resume the first project of his studies more at leisure. He began by working upon Quintilian, upon whom he set a great value, and of whom he
saw,

saw, with pain, too little use made. He retrenched all from him, that he judged superfluous for forming orators, or improving the manners: He explained his method and views in an elegant preface: he added summaries sufficiently copious before the chapters: he accompanied the text with brief, but curious notes; and the edition appeared in two volumes in 12mo. the beginning of 1715.

The University, to which he was also so dear and so useful, in 1719 appointed him to speak a solemn oration, by way of thanks, for the free instruction which the King had lately instituted. The subject was great, and the sublimity and pomp of expression not unequal to it: He spoke in it as a consummate master of the order, choice, and taste of studies; and what he said, made it ardently desired that he would one day give the world a compleat treatise upon that subject.

The University also judging, that their antient statutes stood in need of some alterations in that respect, and that no one was more capable of drawing them up than Mr. Rollin, elected him Principal again in 1720: but particular circumstances shortened this second Principalship so much, that the statutes were no longer thought of; and he had time to compose his Treatise upon the Manner of studying and teaching the Belles Lettres. He divided it into four volumes; the first two of which he published in 1726, and the two last in 1728.

Encouraged by the success of that work, he undertook another of much greater extent; and which, however, was but a necessary sequel of the former: this was the Antient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Persians, Macedonians, and Grecians. He was at first in hopes of bringing it within the compass of six or seven volumes; but it led him on insensibly to the thirteenth.

They all appeared between the year 1730 and 1738; and during the publication of the two last volumes, Mr. Rollin also published the first volume of the Roman History, of which five have already appeared, and the sixth and seventh are printing off, and wait only for the maps to be inserted in them. The eighth, and part of the ninth are done, and came down as low as after the war with the Cimbri, which preceded the battle of Actium, where Mr. Rollin's design ended, only about seventy years. His illustrious pupils, whom he began to call his masters, cannot leave his work imperfect in any respect.

The public will perhaps demand also of them the Latin orations of Mr. Rollin, because none of them are printed; and probably there is not one of them that does not deserve it. If it were incumbent upon us to point out, in the order of time, all those which are come to our knowledge, or of which the remembrance has been more happily preserved, there is one amongst the rest which we should not have forgot; this is that which he pronounced in 1701, two years after his entrance into the College of Beauvais, upon the accession of Philip V. to the crown of Spain. A little more care has been taken of his poems. They were inserted in 1727 in a select miscellany; and besides those we have already mentioned, there are a great number of equal spirit and beauty. If we were to decide the preference to any of them, his Latin translation of Mr. Boileau's ode upon taking of Namur would not want voices.

There are also many epigrams, which have almost all of them their singularity. For instance, it would be difficult to find any thing, that seems so well to prove the quality of prophets, commonly enough ascribed to poets, than that which he sent in 1695, the first year of his Principalship, to the grandson

grandson of Mr. le Peletier, who was only in his sixth year. He sent him on Candlemas-day, in the name of the University, such a wax-candle as it is the custom to present the premier Presidents; and told him, in writing, that he should accustom himself to receiving that honour; that he should especially take care to make himself worthy of it, because that high office was a place which Themis herself assuredly allotted him, after she should have conferred it upon his father.

*Te manet hæc sedes: summum Themis ipsa Tribunal,
Vera cano, Patri destinat, inde tibi.*

Both were then very far from it; however the father was premier President twelve years after, and the son is so now. In another epigram, Mr. Rollin makes a most ingenious allusion to his first business. He sends a knife for a new year's gift to one of his friends, and tells him, that, if this present seems to come rather from Vulcan than the Muses, he ought not to wonder at it, because it was from the cave of the Cyclops that he first set out towards Parnassus.

Two other pieces of Mr. Rollin have been printed separately. Hendecasyllabæ, addressed in 1691 to Father Jouvency, upon his having lately published at Paris, on the taking of Montmelian, in the name of one of his scholars, the same copy of verses which he had published before at Caen, in his own name, on the taking of Maastrich in 1673. The second is Santolius Pœnitens, that made a great noise when it appeared; the French translation of which, ascribed to Mr. Racine, was afterwards found to have been done by Mr. Boivin, junior. Santeuil's epitaph, engraved in the cloister of Saint Victor, is also Mr. Rollin's: and it is certain, that if his modesty had permitted him to esteem

his Latin works as much as they deserved, that collection would very agreeably have concluded the new edition of his Treatise upon Study, and of his Antient History.

We have said nothing of the success his works have had, because their fame is still the subject every where, as well in foreign countries as in France. The Duke of Cumberland, and the Princesses his sisters, had always the first copies from the press, they being desirous to read them as soon as possible, and who could give the best account of them. The Prince said, I know not how it is in Mr. Rollin, reflexions every where else seem tedious, and I turn them over with neglect; they charm me in his book, and I do not lose a single word of them.

The Queen, their mother, a little before her death, intended to correspond with him by letters, and had caused the most obliging things in the world to be said to him on that head. The letters of the Prince Royal, now King of Prussia, highly graced this tribute of esteem. But when he had the goodness to notify his accession to the throne to him, amongst other learned men of the first rank, Mr. Rollin observed to him, that for the future he should have a due regard to his high occupations, and that having no longer any counsels to take but of his own glory, he would no longer have the honour to write to him.

The example of Princes is of great force. A poet famous for his works, and still more by his disgraces, the celebrated Rousseau, was also desirous of a correspondence with Mr. Rollin. He wrote him several letters, and inscribed epistles in verse to him. Mr. Rollin did not think he ought to decline a commerce in which he was in hopes of introducing reflexions of christianity and piety with success. Happy beginnings emboldened him to send the poet part of the Abbe Duguet's works; and the poet in return,
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sent him his poems, of the Amsterdam edition, but without the supplement, at which he was afraid the severe morality of Mr. Rollin might take offence. At length he came himself to Paris, as much as possible incognito. He there saw Mr. Rollin almost every day, and would not set out on his return without reading his will to him. In it he had disowned, in the strongest terms, those immoral couplets, which were the first occasion of his misfortunes, and persisted in ascribing them to the person he had at first charged with being their author. Mr. Rollin took him up short in this place: he urged with warmth, that the evidence of his own conscience sufficed to acquit him to himself, but that having no equivalent proof for charging any person whatsoever by name, he would at least render himself guilty, in effect, of a rash judgment, and perhaps of an horrid calumny. The poet had nothing to reply; and Mr. Rollin was extremely pleased with having made him strike out that article.

The King had nominated him a Fellow of this academy on its re-establishment in 1701, and as he had not time to render the College of Beauvais famous, that was little frequented before him, he did not foresee, that, when it would be so, he would find himself engrossed there by so many different cares, that he could no longer discharge the functions of a member of the academy at pleasure. As soon as he perceived this, he demanded to be superannuated, which was granted him with all the distinction he deserved; and he was however no less a lover of our exercises. He came hither as often as possible, to the publick assemblies especially; not only, said he, because more things were read in it, from which he might reap advantage, but also because it was a more express homage on his side. When he undertook his Antient History, he related the plan of it to the Academy; he asked its permission to

make a free use of all that might be for his purpose in our printed Memoirs, and to have recourse to those not yet in the press. At the same time he asked the Chancellor to appoint him a Censor of the academy, and that member happened to be one of his former pupils. And lastly, it was not till after we had received a copy of each volume of his work, that the publick knew it was finished; and when he could not present it in person, he caused the greatest excuses to be made. The fifth volume of his Roman History, which has lately appeared, was brought me in that manner, for the academy, only three or four days before his death.

So many volumes published so soon after each other, fully demonstrated with what facility Mr. Rollin composed. No body doubted it: it was well known, that he was by nature extremely laborious, and that his zeal for the public good was the strongest of motives with him. But during a very long time he had wrote only in Latin, which seemed so much his natural language, that it was almost doubted whether he had any other; and he was above sixty years old when he began to write in French. The elegance and purity of his style were therefore new and unexpected objects: he seemed to have acquired them in an instant, only from the desire of being more useful. The Academe Francois itself has frequently testified this; but he thought so modestly of himself, that he always wondered he had ever become an author; and far from having taken any premium for his works, of which the prodigious vent would have made the fortune of any other person, his sole concern was, on giving them the bookseller, how he should make him amends, if they had not a sufficient run.

This manner of thinking extended to every thing that had any relation to him. Neat about his person, more from habit and reason than from the least pains,

pains, he had the same furniture at his death, that he had caused to be made when he entered the college of Plessis, as Professor, in 1683, in the twenty-second year of his age, and when retired into the remotest part of Paris, he lived in so small an house, that most of the strangers, whom his reputation drew thither, would willingly have wrote on his door, as on that of Erasmus, Behold a little house, that contains a great man.

His piety was warm, tender, and sincere: all that it becomes us to say of it is, that nothing seemed little to him in religion, and nothing great out of it.

He died the 14th of September, 1741, at the age of fourscore years, seven months and some days.

XVII. *The Life of Demosthenes.*

DEmosthenes, one of the greatest orators of antiquity, if not the greatest, was born at Athens, in the second year of the 101st Olympiad; this is about 370 years before Christ. He was first placed under Plato and Euclid, of Megara, to study philosophy; but observing with what prodigious applause Callistratus pleaded before the people, he put himself under the tuition of Isocrates and Isæus, and applied himself henceforward to the study of oratory. He was left fatherless when he was very young, and much neglected and defrauded by his guardians; on which account he pleaded against them at seventeen years of age, and with so much success, that they were condemned to pay him thirty talents; but, it is said, he forgave them. This was the first time that he distinguished himself by his eloquence, which at length he improved to such perfection, that Philip said, 'it was of more weight against him, than all the fleets and armies of the Athenians.'

Athenians,' and that ' he had no enemy but Demosthenes.' It is universally agreed, that no orator ever spoke with that force, or had the passions of others so much in his power, as Demosthenes; inso-much that, as Demetrius, Phalereus, and Eratosthenes, in Plutarch have said, ' he actually appeared like one inspired.' He could dress a thing up in any light he pleased, and give it whatever colouring best answered his purpose; so that, if at any time he found it difficult to convince the judgment, he knew perfectly well how to seduce the imagination. He was not, perhaps, so universal an orator as Tully; for instance, he was not powerful in panegyric, nor had he his turn for rail-lery: He had indeed so poor a talent in this latter way, that, as Longinus says, whenever he attempted to jest, the laugh was sure to turn intirely upon himself; but then he had prodigious spirit, and a force of oratory, which, as the same Longinus observes, bore down, like a thunderbolt, all before it. He opposed Philip, King of Macedonia, with all his might, and Alexander the Great after him. Alexander requested of the Athenians to have Demosthenes given up to him, but this was refused; yet when Antipater, his successor, made the same request afterwards, it was granted: but Demosthenes would not be given up, and therefore escaped into the island of Celauria, where he sucked the poison, he had kept on purpose in a quill, to prevent his being taken alive. He died in the third year of the 114th Olympiad. There are extant under his name sixty-one orations, which have frequently been published; yet there is perhaps no edition of his whole works, which can be called a good one; nor, as far as we can find, is likely to be, though a very able critic and scholar, of our own country, is at present engaged in the task. That of Wolfius, with the commentaries of Ulpian, is the best that has hitherto appeared.

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The chief regard that has been paid to the memory of Demosthenes, has generally been on account of his eloquence ; but he was likewise a very able statesman, and a good patriot ; and, considering the embassies and expeditions, the treaties and alliances, and other various negotiations wherein he was employed, together with the zeal and integrity with which he acted in them, it may be questioned whether he did not excel as much in those capacities, as in that of an orator : though it must be confessed, that his art of speaking was the foundation of his other merit, or at least the means of producing it to advantage, and improving it. But notwithstanding that he arrived to such a perfection in this art, he set out under great disadvantages ; for he had an impediment in his speech, which for a long time would not suffer him to pronounce the letter R. He had a weak voice, a short breath, and a very uncouth and ungracious manner ; however, by dint of resolution, and infinite pains, he overcame all these defects. He would climb up steep and craggy places to help his wind and strengthen his voice ; he would declaim with pebbles in his mouth, to remedy the imperfection in his speech ; he would place a looking-glass before him to correct the awkwardness of his gesture ; and he learned of the best players the proper graces of action and pronunciation, which he thought of so much consequence, that he made the whole art of oratory in a manner to consist of them. But whatever stress he laid upon the exterior part of speaking, he was also very careful about the matter and the stile ; the latter of which he formed upon the model of Thucydides, whose history, for that purpose, he transcribed eight several times. He was so intent upon his study, that he would often retire into a cave of the earth, and shave half his head, so that he could not with decency appear abroad till his hair was grown again :
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he also accustomed himself to harangue at the seashore, where the agitation of the waves formed to him an idea of the commotions in a popular assembly, and served to prepare and fortify him against them. From these several kinds of hardship, which he imposed upon himself, it is plain that he was not so much born an orator, but was rather an instance how far parts and application may go towards the forming a great man in any profession.

As Demosthenes was the greatest orator in the world, it is necessary to give the reader a clear idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried, his talent of eloquence, which made him more awful to Philip and Alexander, and enabled him to render greater services to his country, than the highest military virtue could have done.

That orator, born two years before Philip, and two hundred and fourscore before Cicero, was not the son of a dirty smoaky blacksmith, as Juvena would seem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who got considerably by forges. Not that the birth of Demosthenes could derogate in the least from his reputation, whose works are an higher title of nobility than the most splendid the world affords. Demosthenes tells us himself, that his father employed thirty slaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minæ, or fifty crowns, two excepted, who were without doubt the most expert in the business, and directed the work, and those were each of them worth an hundred crowns. It is well known that part of the wealth of the antients consisted in slaves. Those forges, all charges paid, cleared annually thirty minæ, that is, fifteen hundred crowns.

To this first manufactory, appropriated to the forging of swords and such kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds, and tables of fine wood and ivory

ivory were made, which brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty slaves were employed, each of them valued at two minæ, or an hundred livres.

Demosthenes's father died possessed of an estate of fourteen talents. He had the misfortune to fall into the hands of fordid and avaricious guardians, who had no views but of making the most out of his fortune. They carried that base spirit so far as to refuse their pupil's masters the reward due to them, so that he was not educated with the care which so excellent a genius as his required ; besides which, the weakness of his constitution, and the delicacy of his health, with the excessive fondness of a mother, that doated upon him, prevented his masters from obliging him to apply much to his studies.

The school of Isocrates, in which so many great men had been educated, was at that time the most famous at Athens : but whether the avarice of Demosthenes's guardians prevented him from improving under a master, whose price was very high, or that the soft and peaceful eloquence of Isocrates was not to his taste at that time, he studied under Isæus, whose character was strength and vehemence. He found means, however, to get the principles of rhetoric taught by the former : but Plato, in reality, contributed the most in forming Demosthenes ; he read his works with great application, and received lessons from him also ; and it is easy to distinguish, in the writings of the disciple, the noble and sublime air of the master.

But he soon quitted the schools of Isæus and Plato for another, under a different kind of direction ; I mean to frequent the bar, of which this was the occasion : The orator Callistratus was appointed to plead the cause of the city Oropus, situated between Bœotia and Attica. Chabrias having disposed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans,
who

who were in great distress, they hastened thither and delivered them from the enemy. The Thebans forgetting so great a service, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians. Chabrias was suspected, and charged with treason upon this occasion. Callistratus was chosen to plead against him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cause, excited curiosity, and made a great noise in the city. Demosthenes, who was then sixteen years of age, earnestly intreated his masters to carry him with them to the bar; that he might be present at so famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention, and having had extraordinary success, was attended home by a crowd of illustrious citizens, who seemed to vie with each other in praising and admiring him. The young man was extremely affected with the honours which he saw paid to the orator, and still more with the supreme power of eloquence over the minds of men, over which it exercises a kind of absolute authority. He was himself sensible of its effects, and not being able to resist its charms, he gave himself wholly up to it, from thenceforth renounced all other studies and pleasures, and, during the continuance of Callistratus at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvements he could from his precepts.

The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to speak before the people, but with very ill success. He had a weak voice, a thick way of speaking, and a very short breath; notwithstanding which, his periods were so long that he was often obliged to stop in the midst of them for respiration. This occasioned his being hissed by the whole audience, from whence he retired entirely discouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of
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which he believed himself incapable. One of his auditors, who had observed an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new spirit from the grateful idea of so glorious a resemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore to appear a second time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head, and in the utmost confusion, Satyrus, one of the most excellent actors of those times, who was his friend, met him, and having learnt from himself the cause of his being so much dejected, he assured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the cause was not so desperate as he imagined. He desired him only to repeat some of Sophocles's or Euripides's verses to him; which he accordingly did. Satyrus spoke them after him, and gave them such graces by the tone, gesture, and spirit with which he pronounced them, that Demosthenes himself found quite different from what they were in his own manner of speaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himself to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himself in pronunciation, of which his friend had made him understand the value, seemed almost incredible, and prove, that an industrious perseverance can surmount all things. He stammered to such a degree, that he could not pronounce some letters, amongst others, that with which the name of the art he studied begins; and he was so short-breathed, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. He overcame these obstacles, at length, by putting small pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing several verses, in that manner, without interruption; and that walking, and going up steep and difficult places, so that
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at last, no letter made him hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest periods: He went also to the sea-side, and whilst the waves were in the most violent agitation, he pronounced harangues, to accustom himself, by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of public assemblies.

Demosthenes took no less care of his action than of his voice. He had a large looking-glass in his house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in public. To correct a fault, which he had contracted by an ill habit, of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright, in a kind of very narrow pulpit, or rostrum, over which hung a halbert in such a manner, that if in the heat of action that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve, at the same time, to admonish and correct him.

His pains were well bestowed, for it was by this means that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of perfection of which it was capable; whence, it is plain, he well knew its value and importance. When he was asked three several times which quality he thought most necessary in an orator, he gave no other answer than pronunciation; insinuating, by making that reply three times successively, that qualification to be the only one of which the want could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing other defects; and that pronunciation alone could give considerable weight even to an indifferent orator, when, without it, the most excellent could not hope the least success: He must have had a very high opinion of it, as to attain a perfection in it; and for the instruction of Neoptolemus, the most excellent comedian then in being, he devoted so considerable a sum as ten thousand drachmas, though he was not very rich.

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His application to study was no less surprising. To be the more removed from noise, and less subject to distraction, he caused a small chamber to be made for him under ground, in which he shut himself up sometimes for whole months, shaving on purpose half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a small lamp, he composed the admirable Orations, which were said by those who envied him to smell of the oil, to imply that they were too elaborate. "It is plain," replied he, "yours did not cost you so much trouble." He rose very early in the morning, and used to say, that he was sorry when any workman was at his business before him. We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire an excellence of every kind, from the pains he took in copying Thucydides's history eight times with his own hand, in order to render the stile of that great man familiar to him.

Demosthenes, after having exercised his talent of eloquence in several private causes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal of harangues, to treat there upon the public affairs; with what success we shall see hereafter. Cicero tells us, that his success was so great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demosthenes speak; and he adds, that merit, so great as his, could not but have had that effect. I do not examine, in this place, into the character of his eloquence; I have enlarged sufficiently upon that elsewhere; I only consider its wonderful effects.

If we may believe Philip upon this head, of which he is certainly an evidence of unquestionable authority, the eloquence of Demosthenes alone did him much more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athenians. His harangues, he said, were like machines of war, and batteries raised at a distance against him, by which he overthrew all his projects, and

ruined his enterprizes, without its being possible to prevent their effect. For I myself, says Philip of him, had I been present, and heard that vehement orator declaim, should have concluded the first, that it was indispensibly necessary to declare war against me. No city seemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold into it: but he confessed, that, to his sorrow, Demosthenes was invincible in that respect, and that he always found him inaccessible to his presents. After the battle of Chæronea, Philip, though victor, was struck with extreme dread at the prospect of the great danger to which that orator, by the powerful league he had been the sole cause of forming against him, exposed himself and his kingdom.

Antipater spoke to the same effect of him. I value not, said he, the Piræus, the gallies, and armies of the Athenians: for what have we to fear from a people continually employed in games, feasts, and bacchanals? Demosthenes alone gives me pain. Without him, the Athenians differ in nothing from the meanest people of Greece. He alone excites and animates them. It is he that rouses them from their lethargy and stupefaction, and puts their arms and oars into their hands almost against their will: Incessantly representing to them the famous battles of Marathon and Salamin, he transforms them into new men by the ardour of his discourses, and inspires them with incredible valour and fortitude. Nothing escapes his penetrating eyes, nor his consummate prudence. He foresees all our designs, he countermines all our projects, and disconcerts us in every thing; and did Athens entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his advice, we were undone without remedy. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his country. All the gold of Philip finds no more access to him, than that of Persia did formerly to Aristides.

He

He was reduced, by necessity, to give this glorious testimony for himself, in his just defence against *Æschines*, his accuser and declared enemy. " Whilst all the orators have suffered themselves to be corrupted by the presents of Philip and Alexander, it is well known," says he, " that neither delicate conjunctures, engaging expressions, magnificent promises, hope, fear, favour, any thing in the world have ever been able to induce me to give up the least right or interest of my country." He adds, " that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales that always incline to the side from whence they receive most, he, in all the counsels he had given, had solely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible to the Macedonian gold." The sequel will shew how well he supported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to ascend the tribunal of harangues, or rather the statesman to enter upon the administration of the public affairs, and to be the principle and soul of all the great enterprizes of Athens against Philip of Macedon.

The news of Philip's having possessed himself of *Elatæa*, being brought to Athens in the evening, spread a terror through every part of it. The next morning an assembly was summoned, when the herald, as was the usual custom, cries with a loud voice, Who among you will ascend the tribunal? However, no person appears for that purpose; upon which he repeated the invitation several times, but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were present, and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured somebody to propose a salutary counsel: for, says Demosthenes, from whom these particulars are

taken, whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be considered as the voice of the country. During this general silence, occasioned by the universal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were seized, Demosthenes, animated at the sight of so great danger his fellow-citizens were in, ascends the tribunal, and by harangues endeavours to revive the drooping Athenians, and inspire them with sentiments suitable to the present conjuncture, and the necessities of the state. Excelling equally in politicks and eloquence, by the extent of his superior genius, he immediately forms a council, which includes all that was necessary for the Athenians to act both at home and abroad, by land as well as by sea.

The people of Athens were under a double error, with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavours to shew. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from interest and inclination, to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch, and that the conquest of Elataea has apprized them of what they are to expect from him. On the other side, they looked upon the Thebans as their most antient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themselves to afford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which rose so high, that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay a considerable fine, for having applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour; and proves to the Athenians, that their own interest lies at stake, and that they could not please Philip more, than in leaving
Thebes

Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes discovers to them the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then is his design, and wherefore did he possess himself of Elataæ? He is desirous, on one side, to encourage those of his faction in Thebes, and to inspire them with greater boldness, by appearing at the head of his army, and advancing his power and forces around that city. On the other side he would strike unexpectedly the opposite faction, and stun them in such a manner, as may enable him to get the better of it either by terror or force. Philip, says he, prescribes the manner in which you ought to act, by the example he himself sets you. Assemble, under Eleusis, a body of Athenians, of an age fit for service, and support these by your cavalry. By this step you will shew all Greece, that you are ready armed to defend yourselves; and inspire your partisans in Thebes with such resolutions, as may enable them both to support their reasons, and to make head against the opposite party, when they shall perceive, that as those who sell their country to Philip, have forces in Elataæ ready to assist them upon occasion; in like manner those, who are willing to fight for the preservation of their own liberties, have you at their gates ready to defend them in case of an invasion." Demosthenes added, that it would be proper for them to send ambassadors immediately to the different states of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a common league against Philip.

This prudent and salutary counsel was followed in every particular; and in consequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the several enterprizes by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus: "For this reason, the

“ Senate and people of Athens calling to mind the
 “ magnanimity of their ancestors, who preferred the
 “ liberty of Greece to the safety of their own coun-
 “ try, have resolved, that, after offering up prayers
 “ and sacrifices, to call down the assistance of the
 “ tutelar gods and demi-gods of Athens and Attica,
 “ two hundred sail of ships shall be put to sea.
 “ That the admiral of their fleet shall go, as soon as
 “ possible, and cruize on the other side of the pass
 “ of Thermopylæ; at the same time, that the land
 “ generals, at the head of a considerable body of
 “ horse and foot, shall march and encamp in the
 “ neighbourhood of Eleusis. That ambassadors
 “ shall likewise be sent to the other Greeks; but
 “ first to the Thebans, as these are most threatened
 “ by Philip. Let them be exhorted not to dread
 “ Philip in any manner, but to maintain courageously
 “ their particular independence, and the common
 “ liberty of all Greece. And let it be declared to
 “ them, that, though formerly some motives of
 “ discontent might have cooled the reciprocal friend-
 “ ship between them and us, the Athenians, how-
 “ ever obliterating the remembrance of past trans-
 “ actions, will now assist them with men, money,
 “ darts, and all kind of military weapons, per-
 “ suaded that such as are natives of Greece, may
 “ very honourably dispute with one another for pre-
 “ eminence, but that they can never, without sul-
 “ lying the glory of the Greeks, and derogating
 “ from the virtue of their ancestors, suffer a fo-
 “ reigner to despoil them of that pre-eminence, nor
 “ consent to so ignominious a slavery.”

Demosthenes, who was at the head of this em-
 bassy, immediately set out for Thebes; and indeed
 he had no time to lose, since Philip might reach
 Attica in two days. This prince also sent ambassadors
 to Thebes. Among these, Python was the chief, who
 distinguished himself greatly by his lively persuasive
 eloquence,

eloquence, which it was scarce possible to withstand; so that the rest of the deputies were mere novices in comparison to him: However, he here met with a superior. And indeed, Demosthenes, in an oration where he relates the services he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very strongly on this, and places the happy success of so important a negotiation at the head of his political exploits.

It was of the utmost importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica, and covered it; had troops excellently well disciplined, and had been considered, from the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, among the several states of Greece, as those who held the first rank for valour and ability in war.

To effect this was no very easy matter; not only because of the great service Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocis, but likewise because of the antient inveterate antipathy of Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies spoke first. These displayed, in the strongest light, the kindnesses with which Philip had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them suffer. They represented, to the utmost advantage, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waste, the flocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Bœotia would thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the Athenians, or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpations of Philip, had already sufficiently animated Demosthenes ; but the sight of an orator, who seemed to dispute with him the superiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and heightened his vivacity still more. To the captious arguments of Python, he opposed the actions themselves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elataea, which evidently discovered his designs. He represented him as a restless, enterprising, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the design of enslaving all Greece, but who, to succeed the better in his schemes, was determined to attack the different states of it singly : a prince, whose pretended beneficence was only a snare for the credulity of those who did not know him, in order to disarm those whose zeal for the public liberty might be an obstacle to his enterprizes. He proved to them, that the conquest of Attica, so far from satiating the immeasurable avidity of this usurper, would only give him an opportunity of subjecting Thebes, and the rest of the cities of Greece : that therefore the interests of the two commonwealths being henceforward inseparable, they ought to erase entirely the remembrance of their former divisions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

The Thebans were not long in determining. The strong eloquence of Demosthenes, says an historian, blowing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so warm a zeal for their country, and so mighty a passion for liberty, that, banishing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence or gratitude, his discourse transported and ravished them like a fit of enthusiasm, and inflamed them solely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the mighty ascendant which eloquence has over the minds of men, especially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the public good.

good. One single man swayed all things at his will in the assemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, respected, and feared.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated, to listen to any accommodation, and would no longer depend on the word of a prince whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardour : However, many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the priestess of Delphos was said to have uttered : But Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion, he said, that the priestess Philippized, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who considered these oracles and predictions as idle scarecrows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis ; and the Thebans, surprized at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other side, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, assembles all his forces, and enters Bœotia. This
army

army consisted of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse : that of his enemy was not quite so numerous. The valour of the troops might have been said to have been equal on both sides ; but the merit of the chiefs was not so : and indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time ? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his superiors : Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him ; but not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed Generals Chares, universally despised, and Lyficles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and daring audacity. It is the choice of such leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Chæronea, a city of Bœotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his son Alexander, who was then but sixteen or seventeen years old, having posted his ablest officers near him ; and took the command of the right wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right wing, and the Athenians the left.

At sun-rise, the signal was given on both sides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both sides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander, at that time, animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavouring to signalize himself, in order to answer the confidence his father reposed in him, under whose eye he fought, in quality of a commander, (for the first time) discovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance, the sacred battalion of the Thebans,

bans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his son, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way : however they soon resumed their courage, and recovered their first post. Lyficles, one of the two generals, having broke into some troops which formed the center of the Macedonians, imagined himself already victorious, and in that rash confidence, cried out, Come on, my lads, let us pursue them into Macedonia. Philip perceiving that the Athenians, instead of seizing the advantage of taking his phalanx in flank, pursued his troops too vigorously, cried out with a calm tone of voice, The Athenians do not know how to conquer : Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence, and perceiving that the Athenians, in disorder, were wholly intent on pursuing those they had broke, he charged them with his phalanx, and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demosthenes, who was a greater statesman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholesome counsel in his harangues, than of supporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms, and fled with the rest. It is even said, that, in his flight, his robe being caught by a bramble, he imagined that some of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, Spare my life. More than a thousand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thousand taken prisoners, among whom was Demades the orator. The loss was as great on the Theban side.

Philip, after having set up a trophy, and offered to the gods a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his victory, distributed rewards to the officers and soldiers, each according to his merit, and the rank he held.

His

His conduct, after this victory, shews, that it is much easier to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one's self, and triumph over one's own passions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment, which he had given his officers, being equally transported with joy, and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the spot where the battle had been fought, and there, insulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a song the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war, and sung, thus (himself beating time) Demosthenes the Peanian, son of Demosthenes, has said. Every body was shocked to see the king dishonour himself by this behaviour, and sully his glory by an action so unworthy a king and a conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whose soul was free though his body was a prisoner, was the only person who ventured to make him sensible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him, Ah, Sir, since fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act that of Thersites? These words, spoke with so generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and made him turn them inward; and so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendship, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip seemed quite changed, both in his disposition and behaviour, as if, says an historian, the conversation of Demades had softened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attic graces. He dismissed all the Athenian captives without any ransom, and gave the greatest part of them cloaths, with the view of acquiring the confidence of so powerful a commonwealth as Athens by that kind treatment; in which, says Polybius, he gained a second triumph, more
glorious

glorious for himself, and even more advantageous than the first; for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but those who were present in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians, the ancient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Bœotians a peace, after having left a strong garrison in Thebes.

We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loss of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was fourscore and eighteen years of age. I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of his stile and of his works.

Demosthenes seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound as it never recovered. But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal, against the man whom they might have considered, in some measure, as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the fosses, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls; which latter commission

mission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour ; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all rose up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before ; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians, a fickle wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the person of those whose projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reason but because they had executed them too slowly : In thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a public calamity which he alone seemed to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wise and brave conduct, they seem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having followed his counsel neither fully nor early enough, and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

But the people did not stop here. The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the elogium of those brave men ; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure ;

pleasure ; a circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

This earth entombs those victims to the state
 Who fell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.
 Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant chains,
 Did by their deaths alone escape the yoke.
 This Jupiter decreed : No effort, mortals,
 Can save you from the mighty will of fate.
 To Gods alone belongs the attribute
 Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.

Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question, with this solid answer :
 “ Censure me (says he) for the counsels I give, but
 “ do not calumniate me for the ill success of them ;
 “ for it is the Supreme Being who conducts and terminates all things ; whereas it is from the nature
 “ of the counsel itself that we are to judge of the
 “ intention of him who offers it ; if, therefore, the
 “ event has declared in favour of Philip, impute it
 “ not to me as a crime, since it is God, and not
 “ myself, who disposed of the victory : but if you
 “ can prove that I did not exert myself with probity,
 “ vigilance, and an activity indefatigable, and superior to my strength ; if with these I did not seek,
 “ I did not employ every method which human prudence could suggest, and did not inspire the most
 “ necessary and noble resolutions, such as were
 “ truly worthy of Athenians ; shew me this, and
 “ then give what scope you please to your accusations.”

He afterwards uses the bold, sublime figure following, which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus. Demosthenes endeavours to justify his
 own

own conduct, and prove to the Athenians that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not satisfied with merely citing, in a frigid manner, the example of the great men who had fought for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Plataeæ: No, he makes a quite different use of them, says this rhetorician; and on a sudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himself, cries out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece, No, Athenians, you have not erred. I swear by those illustrious men who fought on land at Marathon and Plataeæ, at sea before Salamis and Artemisium, and all those who have been honoured by the commonwealth with the solemn rites of burial, and not those only who have been crowned with success, and came off victorious. Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pathetic manner of affirming by oaths of so extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in some measure, those ancient citizens, and makes all who die in the same glorious manner so many gods, by whose names it is proper to swear? I have already observed, in another place, how naturally apt these orations (spoke in a most solemn manner, to the glory of those who lost their lives in fighting for the cause of liberty) were to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm desire to signalize themselves in battle.

Another ceremony observed with regard to the children of those whose fathers died in the bed of honour, was no less efficacious to inspire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated festival, in which shews were exhibited to the whole people, an herald came upon the stage, and producing the young orphans dressed in complete armour, he said with a loud voice, " These young orphans, whom
" an untimely death, in the midst of dangers, has
" deprived

“ deprived of their illustrious fathers, have found
 “ in the people a parent, who has taken care of
 “ them till no longer in a state of infancy ; and now
 “ they send them back, armed cap-a-pee, to follow,
 “ under the most happy auspices, their own affairs ;
 “ and invite each of them to emulate each other in
 “ deserving the chief employments of the state.”
 By such methods martial bravery, the love of one’s
 country, and a taste for virtue and solid glory, are
 perpetuated in a state.

It was the very year of the battle of Chæronea,
 and two years before the death of Philip, that
 Æschines drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon,
 or rather against Demosthenes ; but the cause was
 not pleaded till seven or eight years after, about the
 fifth or sixth year of the reign of Alexander. I
 shall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid
 breaking in upon the history of the life and actions
 of that prince.

No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was
 pleaded with so much pomp. People flocked to it
 from all parts, (says Cicero) and they had great rea-
 son for so doing ; for what fight could be nobler
 than a conflict between two orators, each of them
 excellent in his way ; both formed by nature, im-
 proved by art, and animated by perpetual dissen-
 sions, and an implacable animosity against each
 other ?

These two orations have always been considered
 as the master-pieces of antiquity, especially that of
 Demosthenes. Cicero had translated the latter ; a
 strong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it.
 Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that per-
 formance is now extant, which suffices to make us
 very much regret the loss of the rest.

Amidst the numberless beauties which are conspi-
 cuous in every part of these two orations, methinks
 there appears, if I may be allowed to censure the

writings of such great men, a considerable error, that very much lessens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of solid just eloquence; and that is the gross injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The same objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations against Anthony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of gross, opprobrious expressions, were the very reverse of solid eloquence; and indeed every speech, which is dictated by passion and revenge, never fails of being suspected by those who judge of it; whereas an oration that is strong and invincible from reason and argument, and which, at the same time, is conducted with reserve and moderation, wins the heart, whilst it informs the understanding, and persuades no less by the esteem it inspires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture seemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes: Nevertheless Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled: and it was then he spoke these words, so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival: but what applauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself?

To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest; for the instant Æschines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him,

him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money ; which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect such an offer. On this occasion, Æschines cried out, How will it be possible for me not to regret a country in which I leave an enemy more generous than I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world ?

The extracts which follow, being taken from the orations of Æschines and Demosthenes de Corona, it will be necessary to give the reader some idea of the subject. This Cicero informs us of in his preamble to those two orations, when he translated them ; and this is the only fragment now remaining of that excellent work.

Demosthenes was entrusted with the care of repairing the walls of Athens, which he accomplished with great honour and reputation, having contributed a great deal of his own fortune towards it. Ctesiphon decreed a crown of gold to him on that account ; proposed it should be presented in the open Theatre, in a general assembly of the people, and that the herald should proclaim it was to reward the zeal and probity of that orator. Æschines accused Ctesiphon, as having violated the laws by that decree. —“ So extraordinary a contest raised the curiosity of all Greece : People ran from all parts, and with reason too. What finer sight than to see two orators contending, each excelling in his own way ; formed by nature, made perfect by art, and, besides, animated with a personal enmity to each other ? ”

Extracts of Æschines's Harangue.

Æschines, after having represented, in the beginning of the exordium, the irregularities introduced

duced in the commonwealth, and their pernicious tendency, proceeds thus :

“ In such a situation of affairs, and in such disorders, of which you yourselves are sensible, the only method of saving the wrecks of the government, is, if I mistake not, to allow full liberty to accuse those who have invaded your laws ; but if you shut them up, or suffer others to do this, I prophesy that you will fall insensibly, and that very soon, under a tyrannical power. For you know, gentlemen, that government is divided into three kinds ; monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. As to the two former, they are governed at the will and pleasure of those who reign in either ; whereas established laws only reign in a popular state. That none of you therefore may be ignorant, but, on the contrary, that every one may be entirely assured that the day he ascends the seat of justice, to examine an accusation upon the invasion of the laws, that very day he goes to give judgment upon his own independence : And indeed, the legislator who is convinced that a free state can support itself no longer than the laws govern, takes particular care to prescribe this form of an oath to judges, I will judge according to the laws. The remembrance thereof of this, being deeply implanted in your minds, must inspire you with a just abhorrence of any persons whatsoever, who dare transgress them by rash decrees ; and that, far from ever looking upon a transgression of this kind as a small fault, you always consider it as an enormous and capital crime. Do not suffer then any one to make you depart from so wise a principle ; but as, in the army, every one of you would be ashamed to quit the post assigned him by the general, so let every one of you be this day ashamed to abandon the post which the laws have given you in the commonwealth. What post ? that of protectors of the government.”

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This comparison, which is very beautiful and noble in itself, has a peculiar grace in this place, presenting, as it were, two faces to us; for at the same time as it affects the judges, it reflects strongly on Demosthenes's cowardice, against whom it points a satyrical stroke, which is the more delicate and malicious, the more remote it seems to be from all affectation: It is well known that he had abandoned his post, and fled at the battle of Chæronea. This judicious observation was made by M. Turreil.

“ Must we, in your person, (addressing himself to Demosthenes) crown the author of the public calamities, or must we destroy him? And indeed what unexpected revolutions, what unthought of catastrophes, have we not seen in our days? The King of Persia, that king who opened a passage through mount Athos, who bound the Hellespont in chains; who was so imperious as to command the Greeks to acknowledge him sovereign both of sea and land; who in his letters and dispatches presumed to stile himself the sovereign of the world, from the rising to the setting of the sun, and who fights now, not to rule over the rest of mankind, but to save his own life. Do not we see those very men, who signalized their zeal in the relief of Delphos, invested both with the glory, for which that powerful king was once so conspicuous, and with the title of chief of the Greeks, against him? As to Thebes, which borders upon Attica, have we not seen it disappear in one day from the midst of Greece? And, with regard to the unhappy Lacedemonians, what calamities have not befallen them, only for taking but a small part of the spoils of the temple? They who formerly assumed a superiority over Greece, are they not now going to send ambassador's to Alexander's court, to bear the name of hostages in his train; to become a spectacle of misery; to bow the knee before the monarch, submit themselves and

their country to his mercy, and receive such laws as a conqueror, a conquerer they attacked first, shall think fit to prescribe them? Athens itself, the common refuge of the Greeks; Athens formerly peopled with ambassadors, who flocked to claim its almighty protection; is not this city now obliged to fight, not to obtain a superiority over the Greeks, but to preserve itself from destruction? Such are the misfortunes which Demosthenes has brought upon us, since his intermeddling with the administration.

“ But you, who of all men are the most unfit to signalize yourselves by great and memorable actions, and, at the same time, the fittest to distinguish yourselves by rash speeches; dare you, and that in the presence of this august assembly, assert that we must bestow a crown, at your intercession, on the person who has occasioned all the public calamities? And if this man shall presume so far, will you suffer it, gentlemen; and shall the memory of those great men, who died in the field for their country, die with them? I beg you for a few moments, to convey yourselves, in imagination, from the rostra to the theatre, and imagine you see the herald advancing, and proclaiming the crown decreed to Demosthenes: On which occasion do you think, that the relations of those citizens, who spilt their blood for you, ought to shed most tears, either for the tragical fate of those heroes which I shall represent to you by-and-by, or for the enormous ingratitude of the Athenians? Do not lay open again the deep and incurable wounds of the unhappy Thebans, who through Demosthenes are become fugitives, and have been received by you into this city. But since you were not present at their catastrophe, endeavour, at least, to form some image of it, and represent to yourselves a city taken, walls levelled, houses reduced to ashes, mothers and children dragged into slavery, old men and women forced to be servants

at the end of their days ; drowned in tears, imploring your justice, breaking out into reproaches, not against the actors, but against the authors of the cruel vengeance, which they felt, earnestly pressing you to be so far from conferring any kind of reward upon the destroyer of Greece, that you would preserve yourselves from the curse, the fatality inseparable from his person.

“ I imagine then, gentlemen, when he shall invite the confidants and accomplices of his abject perfidy to range themselves around him, towards the close of his harangue, imagine then, gentlemen, on your side, that you see the antient benefactors of this commonwealth drawn up in battle array, round this rostra, where I am now speaking, in order to repulse that audacious band. Imagine you hear Solon, who strengthened the popular government by such excellent laws ; that philosopher, that incomparable legislator, conjuring you, with a gentleness and modesty becoming his character, not to set a higher value upon Demosthenes’s oratorical flourishes than upon your oaths and your laws. Imagine you hear Aristides, who made so exact and just a division of the contributions imposed upon the Greeks for the common cause ; that sage dispenser, who left no other inheritance to his daughters but the public gratitude, which was their portion ; imagine, I say, you hear him bitterly bewailing the outrageous manner in which we trample upon justice, and speaking to you in these words : What ! because Arthimus of Zelia, that Asiatic, who passed through Athens, where he even enjoyed the rights of hospitality, had brought gold from the Medes into Greece, your ancestors were going to send him to the place of execution, and banished him, not only from their city, but from all the countries dependant on them ; and will not you blush to decree Demosthenes, who has not indeed brought gold

from the Medes, but has received such sums of money from all parts to betray you, and now enjoys the fruit of his treasures ; will not you, I say, blush to decree a crown of gold to Demosthenes ? Do you think, that Themistocles, and the heroes who were killed in the battles of Marathon and Plataeæ ; do you think, the very tombs of your ancestors will not send forth groans, if you crown a man, who, by his own confession, has been for ever conspiring with barbarians to ruin Greece ?

“ As to myself, O earth ! O sun ! O virtue ! and you, who are the springs of true discernment, lights both natural and acquired, by which we distinguish good from evil, I call you to witness, that I have used all my endeavours to relieve the state, and to plead her cause ; I could have wished my speech had been equal to the greatness and importance of the subject ; at least I can flatter myself with having discharged my duty according to my abilities, if I have not done it according to my wishes. Do you, gentlemen, from the reasons you have heard, and those which your wisdom will suggest, do you pronounce such a judgment as is conformable to strict justice, and the common good demands from you.”

Extracts of Demosthenes's Harangue for Ctesiphon ; or, more properly, his Oration against Æschines for the Crown.

I begin with intreating all the Gods and all the Goddesses, that they would inspire you, gentlemen, in this cause, with a benevolence towards me, proportionate to my constant zeal for the commonwealth in general, and for every one of you in particular : afterwards, (which is of the utmost consequence to your persons, your consciences, and your honour)

I crave

I crave of the same Delties, that they would fix you in the resolution of consulting upon the manner of hearing me, not my accuser; (for you could not do that without partiality) but your laws and your oaths, the form of which, among other terms, (all dictated by justice) is as follows. Hear both parties equally; which obliges you to come with an unbiassed mind and heart to the tribunal, and to allow each of the parties to draw up his reasons and proofs in whatever manner he shall think fit.

“ Now gentlemen, among the many disadvantages on my side in this cause, there are two particularly, and two very terrible ones, which make my condition much worse than his. The first is, that we run very unequal risques; for now I hazard much more in losing your good-will than he does, should I fail to make good the charge; since I am to——. But I will not suffer one word to fall from me in the beginning of my discourse, that presages any thing sinister. He, on the contrary, attacks me through wantonness, and without any necessity for so doing. The other disadvantage I lie under, is, that all men are naturally inclinable to hear an accuser with pleasure; while, on the other hand, they hear those who boast or magnify themselves with indignation. He therefore acts a part that pleases universally; whereas almost every thing which falls to my lot, is what generally makes every man an enemy. But if, on one hand, the fear of incurring indignation, which is inseparable from self-applause, should oblige me to be silent in my own actions, it will be thought that I can neither refute him who reproaches me with crimes, nor justify the person who decrees rewards for me. On the other, if I should discuss the services I have done during my administration, I shall be forced to speak of myself frequently. I shall therefore endeavour, in this dangerous dilemma, to behave with all possible moderation;

deration ; but whatever the necessity of my own defence may extort from me, this ought, in justice, to be imputed only to the aggressor, who voluntarily imposed it upon me.

“ But in spite of those facts, incontestible, and certified, as it were, by the mouth of truth itself, *Æschines* has so far renounced all shame, that, not content to proclaim me the author of such a peace as he has mentioned, he is so audacious as to tax me likewise with preventing the commonwealth from concerting it with the general assembly of the Greeks.—But did you, O!—(what title shall I give you?) did you betray the least shadow of displeasure against me, when I broke the cords of that harmony in your presence, and dispossessed the commonwealth of the advantages of that confederacy, which you now magnify so much, with the loudest strains of your theatrical voice? Did you ascend the rostrum? Did you denounce, or once explain those crimes with which you are now pleased to charge me? Surely then, if I could have forgot my duty so far as to sell myself to Philip, in order to exclude the Greeks from participating in that peace, you ought then to have exclaimed, protested, and discovered my prevarications to those who now hear me ; but you never did any thing of this kind, nor did any person living hear you say one syllable tending this way.

“ But if Philip was constantly depriving all states, without exception, of their honour, prerogatives, liberty, or, rather subverting as many commonwealths as he could, did not you, gentlemen, form those very arguments, which undoubtedly were the most glorious to you, through your regard for my advice? Tell us, *Æschines*, how Athens should have behaved in Philip's sight, when he set all engines at work, to establish his empire and tyranny over the Greeks? or what counsels and resolutions
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should I, who was the minister, have proposed, especially in Athens; (for the circumstances of place require a particular attention) I, who was intimately sensible, that my country had at all times, even till the day I first ascended the tribunal, perpetually fought for superiority, for honour and glory; and that it alone had, through a noble emulation, sacrificed more men and money for the general good of the Greeks, than any other of the Grecian states had ever sacrificed for their own private advantage: I, who besides saw this same Philip, with whom we contended for sovereignty and empire, saw him, though covered with wounds, his eye beat out, his collar-bone broken, his hand and leg maimed, still resolved to plunge himself amidst dangers, and ready to give up to Fortune whatever other part of his body she should require, provided he could live honourably and gloriously with the remainder. Now, certainly no man dares to say, that a barbarian, educated in Pella, (then a contemptible and obscure place) could possibly possess a soul haughty enough to desire and undertake the conquest of the Greeks: but for you, though Athenians, for you, who every day hear the virtue of your ancestors displayed, either by your orators in the rostra, or by your actors upon the stage; for you, I say, to carry meanness of soul, and cowardice so far as to abandon and make a voluntary surrender of the liberties of Greece to Philip, no man living will ever be so audacious as to make such a strange proposal.

“ Censure me, *Æschines*, for the advice I gave, do not asperse me for the event, for the Supreme Being unravels and terminates every thing at pleasure; whereas we must judge from the nature of the advice, or opinions themselves, of him who gives them. If, therefore, Philip has been a conqueror, do not impute it to me as a crime, since God disposes of the victory, and not I. But shew
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me what it is that I did not pursue with an integrity, a vigilance, and an indefatigable activity, superior to my strength; shew me, that I did not practice all the expedients which human prudence could employ; that I did not inspire noble and necessary resolutions, and such as were worthy of Athens; and after this give a full scope to your accusations. But if a sudden thunder-bolt, or a tempest, should strike you to the ground, gentlemen, and not only you, but all the rest of the Grecians, how can this be helped? Must the innocent be sacrificed? If the owner of a vessel had fitted it out with every thing necessary, and provided, to the utmost of his power, against the dangers of the sea, and that a storm should afterwards arise, and break the masts, would any one in that case accuse him with being the cause of the shipwreck? But he would say, I did not command the vessel. Nor did I command the army: I did not dispose of fortune; on the contrary, it was fortune disposed of every thing.

“ Since therefore he insists so strenuously upon events, I am not afraid of advancing a kind of paradox. Let none of us, in the name of Jupiter and the other Gods, be startled at the apparent hyperbole; but let him examine equitably what I am going to say. For if all the Athenians had discovered future events by a prophetic spirit; that all had foreseen them; and that you, *Æschines*, who did not speak a single word, had foretold and certified them with your thunder-like voice, Athens, even in that case, ought not to have changed its measures, had it ever so little regard to its glory, its ancestors, or the judgment of posterity. For now Athens seems, at most, to be fallen from its greatness; a misfortune common to all mortals, whenever it so pleases the Supreme Being: But a commonwealth, that thought itself at that time worthy of a superiority over all the rest of the
Greeks,

Greeks, could not part with such a right, without incurring the just reproach of delivering them all up to Philip : Since, in case Athens had quitted, without a blow, a prerogative which our ancestors had purchased at all hazards, how would you, Æschines, have been covered with shame ? for most certainly that shame could not have reflected either upon the commonwealth or upon me. Great God ! with what eyes could we look upon this innumerable multitude, which come from all parts to Athens, if things had been brought to the low ebb we now see them at, by our fault or wrong management ; had we chosen Philip as the chief and arbiter of all Greece ; had we suffered others to hazard a battle without us, in order to prevent such a calamity, especially since we call ourselves inhabitants of a city, which chose at all times rather to brave glorious dangers than enjoy an ignominious security ! For what Greek, what Barbarian, does not know, that the Thebans, and before them the Lacedemonians, when arrived at the meridian of power, and, lastly, the Persian king, would have willingly granted the commonwealth not only the enjoyment of its own possessions, but likewise every thing it could desire, provided it could have descended to submit, and suffer any other to govern Greece. But such sentiments could not be admitted by Athenians, (as appeared on those occasions) either as hereditary, supportable or natural : And since the first foundation of Athens, none could ever force it to make any abject submissions to tyrannical power, though superior in strength, nor to gain a base security by servile concessions ; on the contrary, as Athens was in immemorial possession of fighting for sovereignty, for honour, and for glory, so it has at all times braved the greatest dangers. If, therefore, I should attempt to insinuate, that my counsels determined you to think like worthy descendents of your predecessors,

deceffors, every one might tax me juftly with arrogance ; but I declare in this place, that if you formed fuch refolutions, the glory of them is yours ; and I own, that the commonwealth had great and magnanimous fentiments long before my time : the only thing I can boast of is, that I co-operated in every thing that fell to my fhare in the miniftry.

“ By the way, gentlemen, a citizen, naturally virtuous, (for when I fpeak of myfelf I make ufe of no other word, to avoid envy) poffeffes thefe two qualities ; a fteady and unfhaken courage in the exercife of authority, to fupport the commonwealth in its fuperiority, and a zeal that has been proof againft every thing, in every conjuncture, and particular action. For thefe fentiments depend upon us, being the gift of nature ; but as to force and power, thofe we derive from other caufes. Now certainly, that this zeal was never falified in me, judge of it by my actions ; my zeal for you was never leffened on any occafion, no, not when my head was demanded ; nor when I was delivered up to the Amphictyons ; nor when the greateft efforts were made to flagger me with threats ; nor when endeavours were ufed to allure me with promifes ; nor when thefe curfed wretches, like fo many wild beafts, were let loofe upon me. As to the government, no fooner had I a fhare in it, than I followed the direct and juft methods of preferving the ftrength, glory, and prerogatives of my country, augmenting them, and devoting myfelf entirely to that ftudy. Thus, when I find other powers prosper, I am never feen walking in the forum, with a fere and contented afpect, faluting people with my hand, and telling good news with a congratulating voice to thofe, who, I believe, will afterwards fend it to Macedonia ; nor am I feen trembling, fighing, and with down-caft eyes, upon hearing the fuccefs of the Athenians, like thofe impious wretches who defame the commonwealth ;

monwealth ; as though they did not defame themselves by such courses. They have always their eye abroad, and when they see any potentate taking advantage of our misfortunes, they magnify his successes, and give out, that all endeavours should be used to eternize his victories.

“ Immortal Gods ! let none of you hear such vows as these, but rather rectify the minds and hearts of such perverse men ; but if their inveterate malice is incurable, pursue them both by sea and land, and extirpate them totally. As to us Athenians, avert as soon as possible the calamities which threaten us, and grant us entire security.”

The Success of the two Orations.

Æschines lost his cause, and was banished for his rash accusation. He settled at Rhodes, and set up a school of eloquence, which maintained its glory for several ages. He began his lectures with the two orations which had occasioned his banishment : great encomiums were given to his ; but when that of Demosthenes was read, the acclamations were redoubled : And it was upon this occasion he said, (so laudable in an enemy and a rival) But how wonderful would you have found it, had you heard it from his own mouth ?

I did not pretend, that the passages I have now borrowed from the harangues of Æschines and Demosthenes, could alone give a just idea of those two great orators ; for the most essential part of eloquence, and, as it were, the soul of it, must necessarily be wanting in extracts taken from the body of the entire work. We neither see plan, design, order, or series of the oration in those extracts ; nor the strength, connexion, or disposition of the proofs ; the marvellous art by which the orator sometimes

sometimes insinuates himself gently into people's hearts, and sometimes enters with a kind of violence, and makes himself absolute master over them. Besides, no translation can give the Attic purity, eloquence, and delicacy of which the Greek language only is susceptible, and which Demosthenes had carried to the highest perfection. I had no other view in copying these extracts, but to enable such readers as have not studied Greek, to form some idea of the stile of those two orators. The advantageous judgments which the best writers in all ages have given us of it, will likewise contribute to shew their character, and may perhaps inspire us with the desire of taking a nearer view of persons of such uncommon merit, of whom so many wonders are related. M. de Turreil has collected several, some of which I shall relate in this place.

I. *The Judgments of the Antients on Æschines and Demosthenes.*

Quintilian, whose opinion is no less clear than equitable, speaks of them in this manner: "A croud of orators arose afterwards, of whom Demosthenes was the chief; the standard which every one must necessarily follow who aspires to true eloquence. His stile is so strong, so close, and nervous; it is every where so just, so exactly concise, that there is nothing too much or too little. Æschines is more diffusive; he discovers a greater figure, because he is not so close; he discovers a greater flush of health, but his sinews are not so strong and well compacted.

"What distinguishes the eloquence of Demosthenes, is the impetuosity of the expression, the choice of words, and the beauty of the disposition; which
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being supported throughout, and accompanied with force and sweetness, keeps the attention of the auditors perpetually fixed. *Æschines*, indeed, is less energetic; but he distinguishes himself by his diction, which he sometimes adorns with the most noble and magnificent figures, and sometimes seasons with the most lively and strong touches. We do not discover any art or labour in them; a happy facility, which Nature only can bestow, runs through the whole. He is bright and solid; he enlarges and amplifies, but is often close; so that his style, which at first seems only flowing and sweet, discovers itself, upon a nearer view, to be vehement and emphatic, in which *Demosthenes* only surpasses him; so that *Æschines* justly claims the second place among orators.

“ I remember, says *Cicero*, that I preferred *Demosthenes* to all other orators. He is adequate to the idea I had formed to myself of eloquence; he attained to that degree of perfection which I conceive in thought, but find no where, except in him alone. Never had any orator more greatness and strength, more art and cunning, nor more prudence and moderation in his ornaments. He excels in every kind of eloquence. He possesses all the qualifications necessary for forming the orator. He is perfect. Whatever penetration, whatever refinement, whatever artifice, as it were, and cunning, can suggest on any subject, these he finds and employs with a justness, a brevity, and clearness, which gives us a satisfaction to which nothing can add. Are elevation, greatness, and vehemence necessary? He surpasses all others in the sublimity of his thoughts, and the magnificence of his expressions. He is incontestibly the first; none equals him. *Hyperides*, *Æschines*, *Lycurgus*, *Dinarchus*, *Demades*, have no other merit but that of coming nearest to him.

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“ That harangue (says Cicero in another place, speaking of Ctesiphon's defence) answers so effectually to the idea I have formed of perfect eloquence, that we can wish nothing more finished.”

Before I proceed to the character of Cicero's eloquence, I think myself obliged to add here some reflections upon that of Demosthenes.

It would, in my opinion, be renouncing of good sense and sound reason, to call in question the superior merit of the Greek orator, after the incredible success he had in his time, and the noble encomiums which the best judges have been, in a manner, contending to bestow upon him.

He spoke before the most polite people that ever lived, and the most delicate and difficult to be pleased in point of eloquence; a people so well acquainted with the beauties and graces of speech, and the purity of diction, that their orators durst not venture to use any doubtful or uncommon expression, or any which might be the least offensive to such nice and refined ears: Besides, he lived in an age when the taste of the beautiful, the true, and the simple, was in its utmost perfection. Thrice happy age! which gave birth to a multitude of orators at the same time, every one of whom might have been looked upon as a complete model, had not Demosthenes eclipsed them all by the strength of his genius, and the extraordinary superiority of his merit.

All posterity have done him the same justice which even his own age did not deny him. But Cicero's judgment alone should determine that of every judicious and equitable man. He is not a stupid admirer who gives himself up to blind prejudices without examination. But how much soever, in Cicero's opinion, Demosthenes excelled in every species of eloquence, he still owns that he does not satisfy him in every particular, and that he left him something to wish for; so delicate was he upon that point, and so

so sublime and elevated was his idea of a perfect orator. However, he gives his orations, and especially that for Ctesiphon, which was his master-piece, as the most finished models we can propose to ourselves.

What is there then in his orations that is so admirable, and could seize the universal and unanimous applause of all ages? Is Demosthenes an orator who amuses himself barely with tickling the ear by the sound and harmony of periods, or does he impose upon the mind by a florid stile, and shining thoughts? Such eloquence may indeed dazzle and charm the moment we hear it, but the impression it makes is of a short duration. What we admire in Demosthenes is the plan, the series, and the order and disposition of the oration; it is the strength of the proofs, the solidity of the arguments, the grandeur and nobleness of the sentiments and of the stile; the vivacity of the turns and figures; in a word, the wonderful art of representing the subjects he treats, in all their lustre, and displaying them in all their strength; in which, according to Quintillian, that just eloquence chiefly consists, which is not satisfied with representing things as they really are, but heightens them by lively and animated touches, which only are capable of affecting and moving the passions of the auditors. But that which distinguishes Demosthenes still more, and in which no one has imitated him, is, that he drops himself so intirely, is always so scrupulous in avoiding every thing that might look like a shew or parade of wit and genius; and so careful to make the auditor attend to the cause, and not to the orator, that no expression, turn, or thought, ever escape him; such, I mean, as are calculated merely to please or shine. This reservedness, this moderation, in so fine a genius as Demosthenes, and in topics so susceptible of graces and elegance, raises his merit to its highest pitch,

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and is superior to all encomiums. Mr. Turreil's translation, though generally very just, does not always preserve that inimitable character; and we sometimes meet with ornaments in it, which are not found in the original.

The reader will not take it amiss, if I support what I have declared of Demosthenes's stile, by the opinion of two illustrious moderns, which ought to have as much weight as those of the antients.

The first is from the archbishop of Cambray's Dialogues upon Eloquence, which are very proper to form the taste, by the judicious reflections with which they abound. He thus speaks of Demosthenes, in his comparison between him and Isocrates. "Isocrates is full of florid and effeminate orations, and with periods laboured with infinite pains to please the ear; whilst Demosthenes moves, warms, and seizes the heart. The latter is too much concerned for his country, to amuse himself, like Isocrates, in playing upon words. He argues closely, and his sentiments are those of a soul that conceives nothing but great ideas: his discourse improves and gathers strength, at every word, from the new arguments he employs. It is a chain of bold and moving figures. Every reader sees plainly, that his whole soul is fixed on his country. Nature herself speaks in his transports, and art is so exquisite in what he says, that it does not appear. Nothing was ever equal to his impetuosity and vehemence." I shall soon quote another passage from M. Fenelon, which is still more beautiful, wherein he compares Demosthenes to Cicero.

My second authority is M. de Turreil, who had studied Demosthenes long enough to discover his character and the genius of his writings. "I allow, says he, that we do not find in Æschines that air of rectitude, that impetuosity of stile, that force of transcendent veracity, which forces the consent by
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the weight of conviction ; a talent that leaves Demosthenes without an equal, and which he applies in a singular manner. Whether he calms or ruffles the mind, we do not find ourselves in any disorder, but think we are obeying the dictates of nature. Whether he persuades or dissuades, we do not perceive any thing that offers violence, but we think we are obeying the commands of reason, and has properly no other stile but theirs. Whatever he says flows from that spring. He avoids even the shadows of redundancy. He has no far-fetched embellishments nor flowers. He loves nothing but fire and light. He will not employ glittering weapons, but such only as will do execution. This, in my opinion, is the foundation of that victorious impetuosity which subdued the Athenians, and places Demosthenes above all the orators who ever lived.

“ A peculiar energy, says the same author in another place, constitutes his character, and sets him above equality. His discourse is a series of inductions, conclusions and demonstrations, formed by common sense. His reasoning, of which the force perpetually increases, rises by degrees, and with precipitation, to the pitch he would carry it. He attacks openly ; he pushes forward, and at last reduces the auditor to such streights, that there is no further retreat for him : but on this occasion, the auditor, far from being ashamed of his defeat, feels the pleasure which submitting to reason affords. Isocrates, says Philip, pushes only with a file, but Demosthenes fights with the sword. We see in him a man, who has no other enemies but those of the state, nor any passion but the love of order and justice : a man, whose aim is not to dazzle, but to inform ; not to please, but to be useful. He employs no other ornaments but such as grow out of his subject, nor any flowers but those he finds in his way. One would conclude, that he desired

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nothing farther than to be understood, and that he gained admiration without seeking it: Not that he is devoid of graces, but then they are those only of an austere kind, and such as are compatible with the candour and ingenuity he professed. In his writings, truth is not set off with paint, nor does he make it effeminate with intent to adorn it; no kind of ostentation, or retrospect upon himself; he neither shews nor regards himself, but is entirely confined to his cause; and his cause is always the preservation or advantage of his country."



II. *Of Cicero's Eloquence, compared with that of Demosthenes.*

TWO orators, though very different in stile and character, may yet be equally perfect; so that it would not be easy to determine which of them we should choose to resemble.

Perhaps this rule, with which Cicero furnishes us, may be of service in the judgment we are to form between him and Demosthenes.

Both excelled in the three kinds of writing, as every one must do who is truly eloquent. They knew how to vary their style as their subjects varied; sometimes simple and subtle in causes of small consequence, in narration, and proofs; and at others, adorned and embellished, when there was a necessity of pleasing; sometimes elevated and sublime, when the dignity of the subject required it. Cicero makes this remark, and he quotes for example Demosthenes and himself.

Quintilian has drawn a fine parallel between these two orators. "The qualities, says he, on which eloquence is founded, were alike in both; such as the

the design, the order, the disposition, the division, the method of preparing the orders, and the proving; and in a word, every thing that is relative to invention.

“ But there is some difference in their stile. The one is more concise, the other more diffusive; the one pushes closer to his adversary, the other allows him a larger spot to fight upon. The one is always endeavouring to pierce him, as it were, with the vivacity of the stile; the other often bears him down with the weight of his discourse. Nothing can be retrenched from the one, nor added to the other. Demosthenes has more care and study, and Cicero more nature and genius.

“ As to raillery, and the exciting commiseration, both which are of vast effect in eloquence, Cicero has undoubtedly the advantage in these.

“ But he yields to him in this respect, viz. that Demosthenes lived before him; and that Cicero, though a very extraordinary man, owes part of his merit to the Athenian orator: For my opinion is, that Cicero having bent all his thoughts to the Greeks, in order to form himself upon their model, compounded his character out of Demosthenes's strength, Plato's copiousness, and Isocrates's sweetness; and such was his application, that he not only extracted every thing extraordinary from those great originals, but produced, as it were, by the happy fruitfulness of his divine genius, the greatest part of those very perfections, or rather all of them. For, to use an expression of Pindar, he does not collect the waters of heaven to remedy his natural dryness, but finds a spring of living water within himself, which is ever flowing with vehemence and impetuosity; and one would conclude, that the Gods had given him to the world, in order that eloquence might exert her utmost strength in the person of this great man.

“ And indeed, what man was ever more exact in instructing, or moved the persons of great force? What orator has such a profusion of charms as him we are speaking of? These are so great, that we think we grant him what he forces from us; and when he hurries away the judges by his impetuosity, as with a torrent, they think they follow him of their own accord, at the very time they are forced along: besides, he delivers himself with so much reason and weight, that we are ashamed to differ in opinion from him. We do not find in him the zeal of the lawyer, but the integrity of a witness and of a judge; and these several particulars, every one of which would cost another infinite pains, flow naturally, and as it were of themselves, from him; so that his manner of writing, though so beautiful and inimitable, is nevertheless so easy and natural, that one would conclude it had not cost him any pains.

“ His cotemporaries therefore had reason to say, that he exercised a kind of empire at the bar: And it was but justice in those who succeeded him, to esteem him so highly, that the name of Cicero is now less the name of a man than of eloquence itself. Let us therefore keep our eyes perpetually upon him; let this orator be our model; and we may depend that we have made a great improvement, when we love and have a taste for Cicero.”

Quintilian did not dare to form a judgment upon these two great orators; he, however, seems to have a secret prejudice in favour of Cicero.

Father Rapin is equally cautious and reserved in his comparison between those two orators. I should be obliged to copy his whole treatise, were I to repeat all his beautiful reflections on this subject; but some short extracts inform us sufficiently of the difference to be found between them.

“ Besides that solidity, says he, speaking of Cicero, which comprehends so much sense and prudence,

dence, he had a certain beauty and quintessence of wit, which enabled him to embellish all his ideas; and he heightened every thing that occurred to his imagination with the most beautiful turns, and the most animated colours in nature. Whatever subject he might treat, even the most abstracted matters in logic, the driest topics in physics, the most knotty points in law, or the most intricate in business; all these, I say, when delivered by him, assumed that sprightliness, and all those graces so natural to him: for we must confess, that no man ever spoke with so much judgment or beauty on all subjects.

“ Demosthenes, says he elsewhere, discovers the reality and solidity of every reason that presents itself to his mind, and has the art of displaying it in all its force. Cicero, besides the solid, which never escapes him, sees whatever is agreeable and engaging, and traces it directly. In order therefore to distinguish the characters of these two orators by their real difference, methinks we may say, that Demosthenes, from the impetuosity of his temper, the strength of his reason, and the vehemence of his action, had more force than Cicero; as Cicero, by his soft and delicate deportment, by his gentle, piercing, and passionate emotions, and his many natural graces, was more affecting than Demosthenes. The Grecian struck the mind by the strength of his expression, and the ardour and violence of his declamation; the Roman reached the heart by certain charms and imperceptible beauties, which were natural to him, and which were heightened by all the art that eloquence is capable of. The one dazzled the understanding by the splendour of his light, and threw a confusion into the soul, which was won by the understanding only; and the insinuating genius of the other penetrated, by a certain sweetness and complacency, to the most hidden recesses of the heart. He had the art of entering into the interests,
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and inclinations, the passions, and sentiments of all who heard him."

The Archbishop of Cambray, having more courage than the two excellent writers above cited, declares manifestly in favour of Demosthenes; and yet he cannot be thought to be an enemy to the graces, the flowers and elegance of speech. He gives us his sentiments on this subject, in his epistle upon eloquence. "I am not, says he, afraid to own, that I prefer Demosthenes to Cicero. I protest no one admires Cicero more than I do. He adorns every thing he touches: he does honour to speech: he makes more of words than any other could: he is possessed of a variety of geniusses: he is even concise and vehement, whenever he pleases, against Catiline, Verres, and Antony; but we perceive some embellishment in his orations. They are worked up with wonderful art, but we see through it. When the orator thinks of the safety of the commonwealth, he neither forgets himself, nor suffers others to do it; but Demosthenes seems to step out, as it were, from himself, and to see nothing but his country. He does not seek after beauties, for they occur to him naturally. He is superior to admiration: he makes use of speech as a modest man does of clothes: he thunders and lightens: he is a flood, that sweeps away all things in its progress. We cannot criticize upon him, because we are captivated by his eloquence. We are attentive to his ideas, and not to his words. We lose sight of him, and our whole attention is fixed on Philip, who usurps every thing. Both orators charm me; but I own myself less affected with Cicero's boundless art, and magnificent eloquence, than with the rapid simplicity of Demosthenes."

Nothing can be more rational and judicious than these reflections of the great Archbishop; and the closer we examine his opinion, the more conformable

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we find it to good sense, right reason, and the most exact rules of true rhetoric. But whoever would take upon him to prefer Demosthenes's orations to those of Cicero, ought, in my opinion, to possess almost as much solidity, force, and elevation of mind, as Demosthenes must have had to compose them. Whether it be owing to a long prepossession in favour of an author we have constantly read from our tender years, or that we are accustomed to a style which agrees more with our manners, and is more adapted to our capacities, we cannot be persuaded to prefer the severe austerity of Demosthenes to the insinuating softness of Cicero; and we choose to follow our own inclination and taste for an author, who is, in some measure, our friend and acquaintance, rather than to declare, upon the credit of another, in favour of one that is almost a stranger to us.

Cicero knew the high merit of Demosthenes's eloquence, and was fully sensible of all its strength and beauty; but, being persuaded that an orator may, without deviating from the best rules, form his style to a certain point upon the taste of his auditors, (it is obvious enough, that I do not here mean a depraved or vicious taste) he did not think the age he lived in susceptible to so rigid an exactness: he believed it necessary to indulge something to the ears and to the delicacy of his auditors, who required more elegance and graces in orations. Thus, he made some allowance to pleasure, but still never lost sight of the cause he was pleading; and he thought he was even then serving his country, which he did effectually, since one of the surest methods of persuading is to please.

The best advice that can be given to young persons, who are designed for the bar, is to take for the model of their style, the solid foundation of Demosthenes, embellished with the graces of Cicero;

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to which, if we may believe Quintilian, nothing can be added, except, says he, that perhaps a few more thoughts might be introduced in discourses: He means, no doubt, those which were very much in vogue in his time, and by which, as by so many lively and shining strokes, they pointed the ends of most of their periods. Cicero ventures upon them sometimes, but it is very rarely; and he was the first among the Romans who made them current. It is very obvious, that what Quintilian says in this place is nothing but a kind of condescension, which the depraved taste of the age seems to have forced from him, when, according to the observation of the author of the Dialogue upon Orators, the auditor thought he had a right to insist upon a florid stile; and when even the judge would not vouchsafe to hear a lawyer, if he were not invited, and in some measure corrupted, by the allurements of pleasure, and by the splendour of the thoughts and descriptions.

“ But let no one pretend, adds Quintilian, to abuse my complaisance, or to carry it farther. I will indulge the age we live in so far, as to have the gown now in fashion made of something better than coarse fluff; but then it must not be of silk. I will allow the hair to be neatly disposed, but it must not be in stages and in ringlets; for dress is then the most elegant, and at the same time the most beautiful and becoming, when it has nothing luxurious and excessive in it for the sake of pleasing.”

Had orators kept within these just bounds, and this wise sobriety with regard to ornaments, eloquence would not have degenerated in Athens and Rome.

We may affirm, that the most conspicuous age for eloquence at Athens was that of Demosthenes, when so great a multitude of excellent orators arose, whose general character was a natural and unadorned beauty:

beauty : These orators did not all boast the same genius, nor the same stile, but they were all united in the same taste of truth and simplicity, which continued as long as the Athenians imitated those great men ; but the remembrance of them growing insensibly more obscure after their death, and being at last quite obliterated in peoples' minds, a new species of eloquence arose, which was softer, and more loose and diffused than the antient kind.

Demetrius Phalereus, who might have seen and heard Demosthenes, took a different course, by giving entirely into the florid and embellished species. He thought eloquence ought to appear in gay and sprightly colours, and he divested of that gloomy and rigid air, which made her, in his opinion, too serious. He introduced a great many more thoughts ; strewed more flowers over her ; and, to use an expression of Quintilian, instead of the majestic, but modest dress she wore in Demosthenes's time, he gave her a sparkling robe, variegated with colours, altogether unfit for the dust of the bar, but at the same time very fit to attract and dazzle the eyes of people.

Thus Demetrius, being fitter for affairs of pomp and ceremony than the contests and litigations of the bar, preferred softness to strength ; endeavoured more to charm than subdue the mind ; thought it sufficient to leave in it the remembrance of a flowing and harmonious discourse, but did not endeavour, like Pericles, to leave at the same time sharp stings, as it were, blended with the allurements of pleasure.

It does not appear, by the picture which Cicero had elsewhere drawn of Phalereus, and his opinion of him, that there was, however, any thing of forced and excessive in his stile ; since he says, we might esteem and approve it, if not compared with the force and majesty of the noble and sublime stile.

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And nevertheless Demetrius was the first who caused eloquence to degenerate; and perhaps declamations, the practice of which was first introduced into the schools in his time, and possibly might have been invented by him, contributed very much to his fatal decline, as they certainly afterwards hastened that of the Roman eloquence.

But things did not long continue in this state. When eloquence, after leaving the Piræum, had begun to breathe another air, she soon lost that sprightliness and florid health which she had always preserved there; and being vitiated by foreign manners, she forgot, as it were, the use of speech, and was so changed that there was no knowing her; Thus she fell, by degrees, from the beautiful and the perfect to the mediate or indifferent, whence she plunged into every kind of error and excess.

I observed in another place, in speaking of Seneca, that the Latin eloquence met with the same fate.

Possibly the same reasons may justly make us apprehend the like misfortune, especially when we consider, that those changes proceeded only, both in the Athenian and Roman eloquence, from an excessive desire of setting her off with too much pomp and parade. For I know not by what fatality it has always happened, that as soon as taste was arrived at a certain degree of maturity and perfection, it almost immediately degenerated, and fell by imperceptible gradations, though sometimes very suddenly, from the summit of perfection to barbarity. I except, however, the Greek poetry, every species of which, from Homer to Theocritus and his contemporaries, that is, for six or seven centuries, preserved the same purity and elegance.

We may affirm, to the glory of our own nation, that our taste, with regard to polite literature, has been exquisite for near a century, and still continues so.

fo. But it is remarkable, that those celebrated writers, who have done so much honour to France, each of whom may be considered as an original in his way, thought it a duty incumbent on them, to consider the antients as their masters; and that the writings in the greatest esteem among us, and which in all probability will descend to the latest posterity, are all formed on the model of the celebrated among the antients. This ought also to be our rule; and we may be assured, that we deviate as much from perfection as we depart from the taste of the antients.

But to return, and conclude this article. The best model for youth designed for the bar, is, as was before observed, Demosthenes's stile, softened and adorned with that of Cicero, in such a manner, that the severity of the former be qualified with the graces of the latter; and that the conciseness and vivacity of Demosthenes may correct the luxuriancy, and, perhaps, the too loose way of writing with which Cicero is reproached.

A more florid kind of eloquence, such, for example, as that of M. Flechier, is no way suitable to lawyers. I never read the picture which Cicero gives of an orator of his time, called Callidius, but I discover most of M. Flechier's principal characters in it; and the reflection he makes upon it, seems to me very well adapted to the matter I am now treating. " He was not, says he, an orator of an ordinary rank, but one of singular and uncommon merit. His thoughts are great and exquisite, and he cloaths them in delicate words. He managed a discourse as he pleased, and could throw it into any form: No orator was ever more master of his subject, or handled it with greater art. Nothing is purer or more flowing than his diction; every word stands in its proper place, and is set in, as it were, by a masterly hand. He admits nothing harsh, obsolete, low, or that can confuse
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“ or disorder a discourse. He uses metaphors frequently, but they are so natural, that they seem less to assume the place of other words, than to possess their own: all this is accompanied with harmony and cadence surprisingly various, and yet far from affectation. He aptly employs the most beautiful figures, which add a strong lustre to his writings. We see the utmost art and justice in the order and plan of his work; and the style of the whole is easy, calm, and in an exquisite taste. In a word, if eloquence consisted in beauty only, nothing could be superior to this orator. Of the three parts which constitute it, he is a perfect master of the two first; I mean those which tend to please and instruct; but he is quite deficient in the third species, which is the most considerable; I mean that by which the passions are moved.”

We ought certainly to set a high value upon this kind of eloquence: but in what light will it appear, when compared to the great and the sublime, which is the characteristic of that of Demosthenes? The latter resembles those beautiful and magnificent buildings, formed after the taste of ancient architecture, that admits only of simple ornaments; the first view of which, and much more the plan, the œconomy and distribution of the several parts, exhibit something so great, noble, and majestic, that they strike and charm the artist at the same instant. The other may be compared to houses built in an elegant and delicate taste, to which art and opulence have annexed whatever is rich and splendid; in which gold and marble are every where seen, and where the eye is perpetually delighted with something curious and exquisite.

There is a third kind of eloquence, which, in my opinion, is also inferior to the second, and may lead us insensibly to something worse; I mean that which
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abounds with sallies of wit, bright thoughts, and a kind of points, which are now so much in vogue. These are supported in some of our writers by the justness of ideas, the strength of argument, the order and series of discourse, and natural beauty of genius; but, as the last qualities are very uncommon, we have just reason to fear, that their imitators will copy all the vices and defects of their style, as did Seneca's imitators; for these, by copying only his faults, were as much inferior to the model they proposed to follow, as Seneca himself to the ancients.

The bar was always, but now more than ever, an enemy to this dazzling affected style. The grave discourses of those judicious magistrates, who, when they prescribe the true rules of eloquence every year to pleaders, point out at the same time perfect models to them, are strong barriers against a vicious taste, and contribute very much towards perpetuating, in courts of justice, that happy traditional good taste, as well as just sentiments, which they have so long retained.

Before I conclude this article, I shall treat a point in which several young students will one day want to be instructed; I mean to point out the style proper for reports. This branch is of much more frequent use, and more extensive, in our days, than the eloquence of the bar; for it takes in all who are concerned in the law, and is practised in all the superior and inferior courts, in all companies, in all public offices, and in all commissions. To succeed in this kind of declaration, is as glorious as the pleading of causes, and as useful for the defence of justice and innocence. However, I can treat but very slightly of this matter here, and will only explain the principles of it, without being very particular.

I am sensible, that every company and every court have their particular usages and customs in re-

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porting cases, but all have the same foundation; and the stile, on these occasions, must be the same every where. There is a sort of eloquence peculiar to this kind of discourse, which consists, if I am not mistaken, in speaking with perspicuity and elegance.

The end proposed by a person who reports cases, is, to inform the judges, his colleagues, of the affair, upon which they are to give judgment in conjunction with him: He is charged, in their names, with the examination of it; he becomes on that occasion, the eye, as it were, of the company: he communicates to them all the lights and informations possible. But to do this effectually, the subjects he undertakes to treat must be methodized in such a manner, the several facts and proofs so disposed, and the whole so perspicuous and clear, that all may easily comprehend the report. All things must conspire to this perspicuity, the thoughts, the expressions, the turns, and even the utterance, which must be distinct, easy, and calm.

I observed, that to beauty must be joined perspicuity, because we must often please, in order to instruct. Judges are but men, and though they are attached to truth and justice, abstracted from all other considerations, it is however proper to attach them still more strongly to them by something taking and delightful. Causes, which are generally obscure, and full of difficulties, occasion tediousness and disgust, if the person, who makes the report, does not take care to render it agreeable by a certain elegance and delicacy of wit, which strikes us without affecting to display itself, and, by a certain charm and grace, awakens and excites the attention of the hearers.

Addresses to the passions, wherein the greatest force of eloquence consists in other cases, are here absolutely prohibited. The person who makes the report, does not speak as an advocate, but as a judge.

judge. In this view he maintains one of the characteristics of the law, which, while it is serene and calm itself, points out the rule and duty ; and as he himself is commanded to be free from passions, he is not allowed to attempt to excite them in others.

This manner of speaking, which is not supported either by the beauty of thoughts and expressions, by the boldness of figures, or by the pathos of the passions, but which has only an easy, simple, and natural air and turn in it, is the only one fit for reports, and at the same time not so easy to attain as may be imagined.

I would willingly apply what Tully says of Scaurus's eloquence to that of one who makes reports. This orator tells us, that it did not suit the vivacity of pleading, but was very well adapted to the gravity of a senator, who was more considerable for his solidity and dignity than for the pomp and shew, and whose consummate prudence, joined to the highest sincerity, forced the auditors to give their consent. For on this occasion the reputation of a judge constitutes part of his eloquence, and the idea we entertain of his integrity, adds great weight and authority to his discourse.

It is therefore manifest, that those who would succeed in reports must carefully study the first, or simple kind of eloquence ; must enter thoroughly into the genius and taste of it, and copy from the best models ; must use the second species of eloquence, viz. the flowery and mediate kind, very sparingly ; borrow only a few touches and beauties from it with a wise circumspection, and that very rarely ; but as to the third kind, (the sublime style) they must absolutely never make use of it.

The practice of the universities, especially in the classes of rhetoric and philosophy, may be very useful to young people, in preparing them for making reports. After explaining one of Tully's orations,

the pupils are obliged to give an account of it, to display its several parts, to distinguish the various proofs, and make remarks upon such passages as are strong or weak : In philosophy likewise, it is the custom, after reading some excellent treatises of that kind to them, such as Des Cartes and Malbranche, to discuss them thoroughly, to reduce arguments, which often are very long and abstracted, to some conciseness and perspicuity, to set the difficulties and objections in their full light, and to subjoin the solutions deduced from them. I have heard young lawyers own, that of all the University exercises this was the most advantageous, and of the greatest use to them in reports.



XVIII. *The Life of John Milton.*

JOHN MILTON, a most illustrious English poet, and famous also for his politics, was descended from a very ancient family at Milton, near Abingdon in Oxfordshire. His grandfather, Mr. John Milton, was under-ranger of the forest of Shotover, near Oxford, and a zealous papist. His father, whose name was likewise John Milton, embraced the Protestant religion in his youth, and was on that account disinherited. Upon this he went to London, and applied himself to the business of a scrivener ; and marrying afterwards a gentlewoman of a good family, he settled in a house which he purchased in Bread-street. Here our poet, his eldest son, was born the 9th of December, 1608, and was trained with great care in virtue and piety from his infancy, by his parents. He had first a private tutor at home, one Mr. Young, with whom he held an affectionate correspondence for several years : afterwards

wards he was put to St. Paul's school, where he applied so intensely to books that he hurt his constitution, which was none of the strongest; for from his twelfth year he generally sat up half the night at his studies, and this, with his frequent head-achs, is supposed to have been the first ruin of his eyes. He made an extraordinary progress, and gave some early specimens, both in Latin and English, of an admirable genius for poetry.

In 1625, when he was seventeen years of age, he was admitted of Christ's College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Bishop of Ross in Ireland; and in 1628 proceeded to bachelor of arts, having neglected no part of academical learning, although his chief delight lay in cultivating his poetical talents. His father designed him for the church, nor had he any other intentions for some time; but afterwards, growing out of humour with the public administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and from thence dissatisfied with the established form of church government, he dropped all thoughts of that kind.

"By the intentions of my parents and friends," says he in one of his tracts, "I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions, to the church, till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded it, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that could retch, he must either strain, perjure, or split his faith, I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing."

After he had taken the degree of master of arts, which was in 1632, he left the University, and returned to his father, who having acquired a competency of fortune, with which he was satisfied, had

quitted business, and settled himself at Horton, near Colnbrook, in Buckinghamshire. In a five year's retirement here, he enriched his mind with the choicest stores of Grecian and Roman learning, drawn from the best authors in each language, constantly keeping his eye upon poetry, for the sake and service of which chiefly these treasures were collected: and the poems intitled *Comus*, *l'Allegro*, *l'Penseroso*, and *Lycidas*, all written within this period, would have transmitted his fame to the latest posterity, if he had never performed any thing else. The mask of *Comus* was wrote in 1634, and afterwards printed under the following title: *A Mask*, presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634, on Michaelmasse-night, before the Right Honourable John Earl of Bridgwater, Viscount Brackley, Lord-President of Wales, and one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; and the dedication, by Mr. Henry Lawes, who set the music, shews that Milton wrote it at the solicitation of the Bridgwater family. In his *Lycidas* he laments the death of Mr. Edward King, fellow of Christ's college in Cambridge, who was drowned August 10, 1637, aged 25 years, in his passage from Chester to Ireland, where his father was Secretary to King Charles I. In the mean time he was not here so wrapped up in his poetry, but that he kept the best company, made frequent excursions to London to buy books, and even cultivated other arts, as mathematics and music.

Upon the death of his mother, of whom he has spoken very respectfully, he obtained leave to travel abroad; and having procured some recommendations, as well as proper advice for his conduct, from his neighbour Sir Henry Wotton, then Provost of Eton college, he set out in the spring of the year 1638, accompanied with one servant, who attended him through his travels. He arrived in
France,

France, and passing a few days at Paris, where he had procured an introduction to the celebrated Hugo Grotius, by means of the English ambassador there, he took the direct road to Nice; there he embarked for Genoa, and passed from thence through Leghorn and Pisa to Florence, in which city he spent two months; and distinguished himself so much by his talent in poetry, that he was treated with singular respect and kindness by persons of the first rank both for quality and learning: He received also encomiums from Rome; one of which, written by Salvaggi, was this distich:

*“ Græcia Mæonida, jactet sibi Roma Maronem:
“ Anglia Miltonum jactat utrique parem.”*

Of which Mr. Dryden’s celebrated epigram of six lines, constantly prefixed to *Paradise Lost*, is little more than a translation.

“ Three poets in three distant ages born,
“ Greece, Italy, and England did adorn.
“ The first in majesty of thought surpassed,
“ The next in gracefulness: in both the last.
“ The force of nature could no further go,
“ To make a third, she joined the other two.”

From Florence he passed through Sienna to Rome, where he staid likewise two months, and was honoured with the acquaintance of several learned men, particularly with that of Holstenius, keeper of the Vatican library, who shewed him the curiosities of it, and introduced him also to Cardinal Barberini, who shewed him extraordinary civilities. His next remove was to Naples, whence his design was to pass into Sicily and Greece; but hearing of the commotions then beginning in England, his literary curiosity gave way to his religious zeal, which

rose to such a sublime and glorious height; that he returned all in a heat to Rome, and was with difficulty restrained from defending Protestantism openly. He paid little regard to Sir Henry Wotton's advice, which was, "to keep his thoughts close and his countenance open:" He had greatly offended against it at Naples, where he had talked freely upon matters of religion, insomuch that the famous Giovanni Baptista Manso, who had done him considerable favours, and intended him more if he had been more reserved, dismissed him with the following distich, alluding to that indiscretion, and to Pope Gregory's remark upon the beauty of the English youths:

*" Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic ;
 " Non Anglus, verum hercle angelus ipse fores."*

He staid two months at Rome, and as long at Florence, making only a short excursion to Lucca; then crossing the Apennine, he passed by the way of Bologna and Ferrara to Venice, where staying only one month, he went through Verona, Milan, and along the Alps, down Lemman lake to Geneva, after spending some time in this city, where he contracted a friendship with Giovanni Diodati, and Frederic Spanheim, he returned through France, and arrived in England after fifteen months absence. It was about the time of the King's second expedition against the Scots, in which his forces under Lord Conway were defeated by General Lesley, August 29. 1639.

His father having left Horton, resided with a younger son at Reading in Berkshire; but our poet thought it expedient to continue in London, and hired a lodging in St. Bride's church-yard, in Fleet-street, where he employed himself in educating and instructing his sister's two sons, Edward and John Phillips:

Phillips: and being solicited by several friends the same favour for their children, he took a handsome garden-house in Aldersgate-street fit for the purpose. Here he formed the plan of his academical institution, afterwards set forth in his *Treatise of Education*, in which he leads his scholar from Lilly, as he expresses it, to his commencing master of arts. His method of teaching being designed to subvert the University education, of which he always thought ill, was totally the reverse of that commonly practised in schools; so that we are not to wonder if it never was followed. But though Milton was thus employed in the education of children; though he was at the same time projecting the plan of some great poem, for he was not yet determined as to the kind from which he expected to reap immortal fame, yet in 1641 he found time to give vent to that wrath which he had been treasuring up for some years against the prelates, by publishing the five following pieces: The first is intitled, *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England, and the Causes that have hitherto hindered it*: the second, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the Apostolical Times, by Virtue of those Testimonies which are alledged to that Purpose in some late Treatises, one whereof goes under the name of James Archbishop of Armagh*: the third, *The Reason of Church Government urged against the Prelacy*: the fourth, *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnus*: the fifth, *An Apology for Smectymnus*.

In 1643 he married a daughter of Richard Powell, Esq; of Foresthill, in Oxfordshire, a gentleman of good estate and reputation, but a firm Royalist; and his daughter had not cohabited with her husband much above a month, when, under a pretence of visiting her friends, she deserted him. Mr. John Phillips, who wrote his uncle's life, imputes this desertion

desertion to the different principles of the two families, and supposes, that some of Mr. Powell's might possibly be engaged in the King's service, who by that time had his head quarters at Oxford, and therefore might begin to repent of having formed a connexion, which they thought would be a blot in their escutcheon, whenever that court should come to flourish again, as they then expected it soon would. Milton sent repeated messages and letters to her, but she took no notice of them, nor entertained the least thought of returning; upon which he became so incensed, that he made a resolution never to receive her any more, and wrote four pieces in defence of that resolution. The first is intitled, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce restored, to the good of both Sexes, from the Bondage of the Canon Law, and other Mistakes, to the true Meaning of Scripture in Law and Gospel compared, &c.* The grand position which he maintains in this treatise is, that "indisposition, unsuitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, is a greater reason of divorce than natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and that there be mutual consent." The second piece was, *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce, &c.* the third, *Tetrachordon, or Expositions upon the four chief Places in Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage, &c.* the fourth, *Colatation, a Reply to a nameless Answer against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.* Milton did something more to convince the world of the sincerity of his opinion, and resolution founded thereon; he even proceeded to make his addresses to a young lady of great wit and beauty, with a design to marry her: but this proceeding, which was intended to cut off all

all thoughts of a restoration, proved the very means of effecting it.

In the mean time, he did not suffer this incident to affect his care and assiduity in the academy; and in 1644, at the request of his friend Mr. Samuel Hartlib, to whom it is addressed, he published his small piece upon education; and also another piece, intituled, *Areopagitica*, or a Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing. His father being come to live with him upon the surrender of Reading, in April 1643, and his academy increasing, he hired a larger house in Barbican; but before his removal thither, visiting a relation in the neighbourhood, he was surpris'd with the entrance of his wife, who submitting herself, implored pardon and reconciliation on her knees.

He took her again to his bosom, and received her as soon as he was settled at his new house in Barbican, about July 1645. Mr. Elijah Fenton, in his *Life of Milton*, observes, that it is not to be doubted, but the above mentioned interview between Milton and his wife must wonderfully affect him; and that perhaps the impressions it made on his imagination contributed much to the painting that pathetic scene in *Paradise Lost*, where Adam's reconciliation to Eve after her fall is thus described.

“ ——— Soon his heart relented

“ Towards her his life so late, and sole delight,

“ Now at his feet submissive in distress.”

This same year, 1645, he published his *Juvenile Poems*, both Latin and English; the songs of which were set to music by the famous Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's chapel, and one of his Majesty's private music.

Upon the death of his father, which happened about the year 1647, his wife's friends took their
leave

leave of him: for it may be said, much to his honour, that he had sheltered them under his roof from the time of his re-union with her; nor did they leave him till Mr. Powell's affairs were accommodated by Milton's interest with the victorious party. The same year he removed to a smaller house in Holborn, and kept close to his studies, pleased to observe the public affairs daily tending to the great end of his wishes, till all was compleated in the destruction of kingly government by the death of the king. But after this blow was struck, the noise that was raised against it by the Presbyterians making him apprehensive of a miscarriage in the design of settling a commonwealth, he appeared again publicly, in a piece intituled, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any who have the power, to call to account a tyrant or wicked king, and after due conviction to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary magistrate have neglected or denied to do it; and that they, who of late so much blame deposing, are the men that did it themselves, 1649; and the Scotch Presbyterians settled at Belfast in Ireland, revolting soon after from the parliament, and joining the Marquis of Ormond, he set his pen to work, to prevent the dangers threatening the new establishment by these proceedings. The piece is intituled, *Observations on the Articles of Peace between James Earl of Ormond, for King Charles I. on the one hand, and the Irish Papists and Rebels on the other hand, &c. and Animadversions on the Scotch Presbytery at Belfast*, dated February 15, 1648. This piece was no sooner dispatched, than he entered upon his *History of England*, a work planned likewise in the same Republican spirit, being undertaken, as he declares himself, with a view of preserving his country from submitting to any monarchical government in any future

future time, from the example of the past. The four first books were finished at this time, and the two following afterwards: The whole is inserted in the first volume of Kennet's History of England.

It was his design to have gone on with his History of England, but he was prevented by being taken into the service of the Commonwealth, and by being made Latin Secretary to the Council of State, who resolved neither to write to others abroad, nor to receive any answers, except in the Latin tongue, which was common to them all; and the famous ———, or the Portraiture of his sacred Majesty, in his solitudes and sufferings, coming out about this time, that is, in 1649, our author, by the command of his masters, wrote and published his ——— the same year. In 1651 he published his celebrated piece, intitled, *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Salmasii Defensionem Regiam*; which performance spread his fame over all Europe. He undertook it at the orders also of his masters, but, as he himself tells us, “without any view of a reward;” and Mr. Toland says, “that the one thousand pounds which he received for it from the commonwealth, was given him afterwards.” While he was writing this piece, he lost his eye-sight, which had been decaying for several years; nevertheless he persisted in defending the cause he had undertaken, with as much spirit and resolution as before. In 1652, was printed at London, *Joannis Phillippi Angli Responsio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam Tenebrionis pro Rege & Populo Anglicano infantissimam*: by which title Milton had a mind to give the honour to his nephew and ward, Mr. John Phillips, who might indeed prepare the first draught; but that was so carefully examined and amended by Milton, as to pass for his own. This year he lost his wife, who died soon after the delivery of her fourth child; but he soon married a second, going
on

on, in the mean time, as usual, with the business of his pen. In 1654 he published his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano, contra infamem Libellum anonymum, cui Titulus, Regii sanguinis clamor ad Cælum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos*. Milton treats Alexander Morus as the author of the *Regii sanguinis clamor*, &c. and abuses him terribly; but Morus was only the publisher, the book being actually written by Peter du Moulin the younger, afterwards prebendary of Canterbury. Morus replying, Milton attacked him the year after, in another piece, intitled, *Defensio pro se*, &c. in which, unwilling to own his mistake, he persists in Morus being the author of the above work; and so the controversy ended.

Being now at ease from state adversaries and public contests, he had leisure again to prosecute his own studies and private designs, particularly his *History of Britain*, and his new *Thesaurus Linguae Latinæ*, according to the method of Robert Stephens. He had begun this last work long before, and went on with it at times to his dying day; yet the papers were found after his death so irregular and deficient, that they could not be made fit for the press: But they gave birth to the *Cambridge Dictionary*, published in 1693, 4to, the editors of which observe, that they made three large folio volumes, containing a collection out of all the best and purest Roman authors. In 1658, he published Sir Walter Raleigh's *Cabinet Council*, containing the chief acts of empire, and mysteries of state, &c. and the year after two tracts, namely, *A Treatise of the Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, and *Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church*. Upon the dissolution of the parliament by the army, after Richard Cromwell had been obliged to resign the protectorship, Milton wrote a letter, in which he lays down the
model

model of a commonwealth ; not such as he thought the best, but what might be the most readily settled at that time, to prevent the restoration of kingly government and domestic disorders, till a more favourable season, and better disposition for erecting a perfect democracy. He drew up likewise another piece with the same view, which seems to have been addressed to General Monk ; and in February, this year, 1659-60, upon a prospect of the King's return, he published *A ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth*. This was soon after attacked in a burlesque pamphlet, pretended to be written by Mr. James Harrington's Republican club, and printed under the title of *The Censure of the Rota upon Mr. Milton's book, intituled, The ready and easy way to establish a free Commonwealth*, London, printed by Paul Giddy, printer to the Rota, at the Windmill in Turn-again-lane, 1660. A sermon being preached by Dr. Matthew Griffith, at Mercer's chapel in March, and afterwards published with this title, *The Fear of God and the King*, Milton wrote and published immediately brief notes upon it, which were as speedily remarked upon by Roger L'Estrange, in a piece intituled, *No blind Guides*, printed in his *Apology*, at London, 1660.

Perceiving the King's restoration unavoidable, he began to cast about for his own safety. He was removed from the office of Latin Secretary to the parliament just before ; and it is manifest that he acquitted himself well in the execution of it. His letters which are published, are an illustrious proof of his absolute mastery in that language : They are composed upon the most difficult subjects, and may serve as the best models to his successors in that post. To these are generally added the protector's manifesto, containing the reasons of his making war with Spain in 1655, as being the undoubted production
of

of Milton's pen; and some have, not without probability, given him the honour of the Latin verses sometimes ascribed to his friend Andrew Marvell, and sent with his picture as a present to Christiana, Queen of Sweden. In the mean time, Milton withdrew to a friend's house in Bartholomew-close; and by this means, although his *Iconoclastes*, and *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* were both burnt by the hangman, yet he escaped the particular prosecution at first intended against him. His friends, the famous Andrew Marvell particularly, then member for Hull, acted vigorously in his behalf, and made a considerable party for him in the House of Commons; and a just esteem for his admirable parts and learning having procured him many favourers, even among those who detested his principles, he was included in the general amnesty. As soon as the storm was quite blown over, he quitted his hiding-place, and took a house in Holborn, near Red-lion-fields; for ever since the year 1652 he had lived in Petty-France, Westminster, in a house which opened into St. James's Park. He soon removed to Jewin-street, near Aldersgate; from whence, marrying a third wife, he not long after removed to a house in the Artillery-walk, leading to Bunhill-fields. Mr. Phillips observes, that this was his last stage in this world; but it was of many years continuance, more, perhaps, than he had in any other place. Here, we are told, that he used to sit in a grey coarse cloth coat, at the door, in warm summer weather, to enjoy the fresh air; and thus, as well as in his own room, received the visits of persons of distinguished parts and quality.

Though Milton's circumstances were much reduced by some very considerable losses at the Restoration, yet his principles not suffering him to seek or to accept any public employment at court, for it is said that Charles II. would have continued him
 Latin

Latin Secretary, he sat down to his studies, and applied himself diligently to finish his grand poem. In this pursuit he had a person to read to him; and Mr. Thomas Ellwood, afterwards an eminent writer among the Quakers, attended him for this purpose, and went every day in the afternoon, except Sunday, to read to him some book in Latin. In 1665, he retired with his family from the plague to a small house which was hired for him at St. Giles's Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire; and there Mr. Ellwood visiting him, had *Paradise Lost*, then finished, put into his hands by Milton, who desired "that he would read it over, and give him "his judgment." Upon returning it, he modestly and freely did so: "and after some farther discourse about it," says Mr. Ellwood, "I pleasantly told him, that he had said much of *Paradise lost*, but what had he to say of *Paradise Regained*?" From this hint he began his *Paradise Regained*, and finished it not long after his return to London, which was as soon as the sickness was over in 1666. *Paradise Lost* was published in 1667; in 1670, *Paradise Regained*, a poem in four books, to which was added, *Samson Agonistes*, a dramatic poem. The second edition of *Paradise Lost* came out in 1674, in which, among other alterations, was this, that the poem, which at first contained only ten, was divided into twelve books. The third edition was published in 1678; and the fourth, a very pompous one in folio, with *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* annexed to it, in 1688, by subscription, wherein appears the names of Dorset, Waller, Dryden, and all the men of distinguished talents in polite literature at that time. It has gone through numberless editions since, particularly one in 1727, 8vo. with an account of Milton's Life, by Mr. Elijah Fenton, and another in 1749, by Dr. Newton, in 4to, and afterwards in

8vo, with notes of various authors. Dr. Bentley published an edition of this poem in 1732, 4to, but it did not grow into any credit; for it was attacked by several writers, particularly by Dr. Zachary Pearce, now Bishop of Rochester, who in 1733 published at London, in 8vo, *A Review of the Text of the Twelve Books of Milton's Paradise Lost*, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are considered, and several other emendations and observations are offered to the public. Dr. Pearce observes in this piece, that Milton took the first hint of his design, to write a tragedy upon the subject of his poem, from an Italian tragedy called *Il Paradiso Perdo*: for it is certain, that Milton first designed a tragedy; and there are still extant several plans of *Paradise Lost* in the form of a tragedy, in our poet's own hand-writing. It may be as well to observe here, that Dr. Newton afterwards published a third volume, in the same variorum manner as the two former, containing *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, and the rest of Milton's poems; which complete collection of his poetical works has since been printed in three volumes octavo.

To go on with our author. In 1669 he published his *History of Britain*, which he had been so long about: But Mr. Toland observes, that "we have not this history as it came out of his hands; for the licensers," he says, "those sworn officers to destroy learning, liberty, and good sense, expunged several passages of it, wherein he exposed the superstition, pride, and cunning of the Popish monks in the Saxon times, but applied by the sagacious licensers to Charles II.'s bishops." Milton however bestowed a copy of the unlicensed papers on the Earl of Anglesea; and they have since been inserted in their proper places. In 1672 came out his *Antis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Rami Methodum concinnata*: He had published in 1661, *Accidence*

Accidence commenced Grammar; and these pieces may serve as instances of one of the greatest geniuses that ever lived, stooping to the lowest and driest subjects, out of a zeal for right education, which he shewed throughout his life. Upon the indulgence granted to the Dissenters in 1673, he published a defence of universal toleration for sectaries of all denominations, except Papists, in a discourse intitled, *Of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and what best Means may be used against the Growth of Popery.* There are some passages in this piece, which shew, that Milton had changed his opinion with regard to some nice points touching doctrines since his younger days; and it is observable, that he also changed it more than once with regard to the several sects of religion. For in his early years he was a favourer of the Puritans, in his middle age he was best pleased with the Independents and Anabaptists, as allowing more liberty than others, and coming nearest, in his opinion, to the primitive practice.

In 1674, he published *Epistolarum Familiarium Liber I. & Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ in Collegio Christi habita*; and a Declaration of the Poles concerning the election of their king, John III. translated by him from the Dutch. He died this year, at his house at Bunhill, in the beginning of November, and was interred near his father in the chancel of St. Giles Cripplegate: but no monument being found there afterwards, a decent one was erected to his memory in 1737, in Westminster-Abbey, by William Benson, Esq; one of the auditors of the Imprest. Though his death was occasioned by the gout, yet it was so easy, that the persons in the room did not perceive the time of his expiring. He left some pieces in manuscript; among the rest, The brief History of Muscovy, and of their less known countries, lying Eastward of Russia as far as Cathay,

which was printed in 1682, in 8vo. His historical, political, and miscellaneous works, were printed in three thin volumes folio, 1698, at London, though Amsterdam is mentioned in the title page, with the *Life of the Author*, by Mr. Toland; but a more complete and elegant edition of them was published in two volumes folio, in 1738. To this edition is prefixed an account of the *Life and Writings of Milton*, by Dr. Thomas Birch, with an appendix, containing two dissertations: The first concerning the author of ——— and concerning the prayer of *Pamela*, subjoined to several editions of that book: the second, concerning the commission said to be given by King Charles I. in the year 1641, to the Irish Papists, for taking up arms against the Protestants in Ireland. In this edition also the several pieces are disposed according to the order of their dates, with the addition of a Latin tract, omitted by Mr. Toland, concerning the reasons of the war with Spain in 1655; and several pages in the *History of Britain*, expunged by the licensers of the press, and not to be met with in any former edition. These prose works of Milton have since been reprinted, under Dr. Birch's inspection, in two volumes 4to, which, with Dr. Newton's edition of his poems, compleat all his works, in five volumes 4to.

As to Milton's person, in his youth he was remarkably handsome, on which account, while at Cambridge, he was called the *lady of Christ's College*. "A quibusdam audiivi nuper domina," says he, in one of his academical prolusions. The colour of his hair was a light brown; the symmetry of his features exact. enlivened with an agreeable air, and a beautiful mixture of fair and ruddy, which gave occasion to the compliment paid him by John Baptist Manso, before related. He tells us himself he was blue-eyed; but his eyes, Mr. Wood says, were none of the quickest. His stature did not exceed the
middle

middle size : he was neither too lean nor too fat : his limbs well proportioned, nervous and active ; but his constitution was tender, and his health infirm. In his diet abstemious, and averse to strong liquors. His deportment was erect, open, and affable : his conversation easy, chearful, and instructive. His genius and reading are seen in his works, in which, however, “ such inequalities are found, “ as shew him sometimes to have been no more “ than one of the people.” This may be owing to that peculiarity in his make, which Mr. Phillips relates as having received from himself, viz. that his poetical vein flowed more happily at one season of the year than another. His moral and religious character was excellent. Though the estate left him by his father was but small, yet his frugality made it serve both himself and his family. Towards the latter end of his life he sold the greater part of his library, because his heirs knew not how to use it, and because he thought he could dispose of it to better advantage than they. He died worth 1500l. and his household goods. His three wives were all maidens when he married them ; but he had no children except by the first. His three daughters survived him, and the two youngest used to read to him : they read to him in eight languages with readiness and accuracy, though they understood nothing but English ; for their father often used to say in their hearing, that “ one tongue was enough for a “ woman.”

THE
ELEMENTS
OF
MORAL PHILOSOPHY

Extracted from the SCRIPTURES, or Solomon's
PROVERBS

Methodized in Thirty-two Heads, containing the
principal Branches of VICE and VIRTUE.

I. *Motives to seek Wisdom.*

Knowledge relates to the essence of things. Wisdom relates to the operation of things. Wisdom is the power of judging rightly in all matters of practice. The wisdom of man lies in the strength of his understanding to judge and determine of the relation of means to ends, and of the value and importance of those ends to the man himself, by whom they are proposed and pursued.

Wisdom in man consists in the determination of his choice in a manner that is agreeable to right views to attain his ends, so that his happiness is inviolably secured.

Wisdom consists in being intelligent and accurate in selecting good, and in rejecting evil, or in preferring the most excellent goods, and avoiding the most terrible evils, when there is a competition among either goods or evils.

Wisdom likewise consists in being discreet, in using the best means to attain the goods we want, and avoid the evils we fear. This quality in our inward frames corresponds to sagacity or quickness of sense in our outward.

No. Ch. Ver.

- | | | | |
|---|--------|-----|---|
| 1 | xvi. | 16. | Better to get wisdom than gold. |
| 2 | xviii. | 1. | Seek and intermeddle with all wisdom. |
| 3 | xix. | 8. | He that getteth wisdom loves his own soul. |
| 4 | iv. | 7. | Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore, &c. |
| 5 | xxii. | 17. | Apply thine heart to wisdom. |
| 6 | xxiii. | 15. | If thine heart be wise, my heart shall rejoice. |

No. Ch. Ver.

- 7 xxiii. 23. Buy the truth—also wisdom.
 8 xxiv. 14. So shall the knowledge of wisdom
 be sweet, &c.
 9 xxvii. 11. Be wise and make my heart glad.
 10 iv. 5. Get wisdom, get understanding.

II. *God's Omniscience and universal Providence.*

OMniscience is that perfection of God's understanding, or that infinite power of the divine mind, whereby he perceives and considers all things as they are in their own nature, properties, agreements or differences, with all the circumstances relating or belonging to their existence. The knowledge of God is deep and intimate; our knowledge is superficial and shallow: the knowledge of God is infallible; ours is doubtful. The knowledge of God is clear and distinct; ours is confused and dark. The knowledge of God is easy and pleasant; ours is attained with sore study and hard labour of the mind. The knowledge of God is universal, extending to all objects in all worlds; ours is narrow, and piece-meal, contracted, and reaching only to a few things.

No. Ch. Ver.

- 1 xv. 5. Eyes of the Lord are in every
 place.
 2 — 11. Hearts of men before the Lord.
 3 xvi. 1. Preparations of the heart is from
 the Lord.
 4 — 9. The Lord directeth man's steps.
 5 — 33. The whole disposing of the lot, is
 from the Lord.
 6 xvii. 3. The Lord trieth the hearts.
 7 xix. 21. Counsel of the Lord shall stand.

A man's

No. Ch. Ver.

- 8 xx. 24. A man's goings are of the Lord.
 9 xxi. 1. The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord.
 10 xxix. 26. Every man's judgment cometh from the Lord.

III. *Fear of God.*

THE fear of God is an inward, thoughtful sense of God, and his infinite perfections, with a respect to him, as the universal governor and judge of the world, which will excite us steadily to please him, and make us tremble to offend him. The fear of God, is the wisdom, the glory, and happiness of nations, the stability of thrones, and the basis of all solid greatness in every kingdom and empire upon earth. The rejecting of the fear of God ruined the old world before the flood, burned Sodom and Gomorrah to ashes, drowned the Egyptians, destroyed Niniveh, tore up Babylon by the roots, consumed Jerusalem in flames, and will sink the city of Rome in the sea.

See the terrible examples all through the Scriptures, and the excellent Mr. Rollin's Ancient History in twelve volumes.

No. Ch. Ver.

- 1 i. 7. Fear of God is the beginning of wisdom.
 2 xiv. 27. Fear of God is a fountain of life.
 3 xv. 16. Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, &c.
 4 — 33. Fear of the Lord is wisdom.
 5 xvi. 6. By fear of the Lord we depart from evil.
 6 xix. 23. Fear of God tendeth to life.

By

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
7	xxiv.	4.	By the fear of the Lord are riches, honour, &c.
8	xxiii.	17.	Be in the fear of God all day long.
9	xxviii.	14.	Happy the man who feareth alway.
	Ecc.		
10	xii.	13.	Fear God, and keep his command, ment.

IV. *Devotion to God.*

✓ **D**Evotion consists in a keen sense of dependence upon God, in a fixed state and disposition of the heart towards God, and in a lively readiness to be affected with every discovery of God upon all proper occasions.

Devotion, in the highest and richest sense, consists in the strongest affection, or the most ardent love to the Lord Jesus Christ, as the eternal person of the Son of God, to such a degree as shall make the lover of Christ the sole property of the person loved, so as to consider ourselves as no longer our own property, but the entire property of the adorable Redeemer.

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
1	xvi.	8.	Commit thy way unto the Lord.
2	xviii.	10.	The name of the Lord is a strong tower.
3	xxiii.	26.	My son give me thy heart.
4	xxvii.	1.	Boast not thyself of to-morrow.
5	xxviii.	25.	He who trusts on the Lord, shall be fat.
6	xxix.	—	Who so putteth his trust in the Lord shall be safe.
7	xvi.	7.	When a man's ways please God, he maketh his, &c.

Trust

No.	Ch.	Ver.
8	iii.	5. Trust the Lord with all thine heart.
9	—	6. In all thy ways acknowledge him, &c.
10	xxviii.	5. They that seek the Lord, understand all things.

V. *Obedience and Disobedience to God.*

Obedience is the intentional and voluntary subjection of the soul and conscience to the will of God, grounded in the nature of man, and discovered in the divine law.

Disobedience is the wilful, and intentional, and voluntary violation of the just, the holy, and the good law of God; or it is a breach of duty due to the Supreme Magistrate of the universe, who is God himself.

No.	Ch.	Ver.
1	x.	8. Wife will receive commandments.
2	xii.	1. Whoso loveth instruction, loveth knowledge.
3	—	15. He that hearkneth to counsel, is wise.
4	xiii.	1. A wise son heareth instruction.
5	—	13. He who despiseth the word shall be destroyed.
6	—	18. He that regardeth reproofs, shall be honoured.
7	xv.	5. A fool despiseth his father's instructions.
8	—	12. He that is a scorner loves not reproof.
9	xviii.	9. He that turns away his ear from hearing the law.

He

No. Ch. Ver.

10 xxix. 1. He that hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly fall.

VI. *Temperance and Sobriety.*

Temperance consists in guarding against such a use of meat and drink as indisposes the body for the service of the soul, robs me of my time, or occasions an extravagant expence beyond what I can bear, or deprives me of the power of being kind to the poor, and in guarding against whatever increases a sensual taste, or alienates my soul from converse with God, or diminishes my zeal for his glory, or weakens my activity in his service, or lessens my benevolence to mankind.

Drunkenness is a habit of voluntary drinking to excess, or an acquired disposition and custom of swallowing down any strong liquors to such a degree as to disturb the soul, and deprive it of the clear and free use of its reason and judgment

Gluttony consists in such a greedy and ravenous use of bodily meats and provisions, whereby the soul of a man is indisposed for its regular acts, or rendered any ways less fit to act as a rational and religious agent as a wonderful image of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God.

✓ This, in proportion to the degree of it, is a criminal excess. Conscience, if honestly regarded, will tell us when we are guilty of gluttony.

No. Ch. Ver.

1	xxi	27	A lover of wine and oil shall perish.
2	xxiii	2	Put a knife to thy throat, if thou be a man given to appetite.
3	—	3	Dainties are deceitful meat.
4	—	6	Desire not dainty meats.

Be

No.	Ch.	Ver.
5	xxiii	20 Be thou not with wine bibbers and riotous eaters.
6	—	21 Gluttons shall come to poverty.
7	—	29 Who hath woe? The drunkard.
8	—	31 Look not upon wine, when it is red, &c.
9	—	32 Drunkenness bites like a serpent.

VII. *Chastity and Adultery.*

Chastity consists in a deep and fixed abhorrence of all impurity and uncleanness in thought, word and deed, in a resolute guard over our body, soul, passions, and imaginations, in a steady abstinence from all approaches to lust, and in a fervent love to chastity of body, soul, and speech, on account of its intrinsic goodness and beautiful conformity to God.

Adultery is an unlawful or criminal commerce between the sexes, where one or both of the parties are married. It is the act of violating the bed of a married person.

Fornication is the vile act of violating the chastity of an unmarried person, or the crime of lewdness in persons unmarried.

Lewdness and lust consists in a rooted indulgence of filthy inclinations, in filthy recollection of past uncleanness, with an unclean and turbulent pleasure, wishing to repeat the thrilling of polluted joy with a heart full of lustful thoughts and desires, inflamed with a foul imagination, so that lustful thoughts come easily into the stage of the heart at every turn night and day, and turn every object to a lewd purpose, and every passion into a lustful channel. This abominable lust stimulates a person to seek and pursue all occasions of vile indulgence,

gence, and to contrive all methods of polluting gratifications. The lewd wretch aims at the highest acts of impurity, and the most furious manner of uncleanness. Polluted wretches love to wallow and roll in the foulest puddles of impurity. Read Mr. Henry's striking Discourse against uncleanness, the judicious Ostervald against uncleanness, and Dr. Evans on purity, vol. ii. of the Christian Temper.

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
1	ii	18	Strange women's paths lead to hell.
2	v	5	Strange women's steps take hold of hell.
3	—	20	Why be ravished with a strange woman?
4	vi	25	Lust not after beauty.
5	—	32	Adulterer destroys his own soul.
6	vii	5	Strange woman is a flatterer.
7	—	10	An harlot is subtle at heart.
8	—	15	She has an impudent face.
9	—	15	He goes after her as a fool.
10	xxiii	27	A whore is a deep ditch.
11	xxx	20	Such is the way of an adulterous woman.
	Ecc.		
12	vii	26	A woman more bitter than death.

VIII. *Humility and Pride.*

✓ **H**umility consists in a low opinion or esteem of ourselves. *Tapeinophrosunè* signifies a low esteem or opinion, or a mind as low as the ground. Humility consists in a deep sense of the imperfection of our knowledge, of the defects of our goodness, in a keen conviction of our guiltiness before God, in a sense of our dependence upon his omnipresent agency,

agency, and a modest estimate of our rank among God's creatures in his universal empire.

Pride consists in an excessive self-valuation, or a high opinion of our own knowledge and goodness; in a stupid insensibility of our dependence on God in the order of nature, and the order of grace, attended with an imaginary self-sufficiency for our happiness, with a lofty apprehension of our own rank and station in the empire of God and among our fellow-creatures. This pride is a sin of the biggest magnitude and malignity—it is the very venom of the devil, and the most desperate sickness of the soul—it is the most detestable feature of hell—the spring of black ingratitude to God and man—it vitiates and tarnishes all other good qualities of the heart and character.

Pride poisons every service and good action of a man's life; it lessens the value of genius, of gifts, of learning, and of services; it makes us quite unlike to the amiable Jesus—it is a direct opposition to our Saviour's incarnation, and the frame of his heart—it is impudently opposite to the manner of his appearance—it opposes Christ's humility towards his Divine Father. Pride will condescend to nobody to promote their good—it scorns to stoop to mean, but honest duties—it disdains to receive a favour from our inferiors, and hates to acknowledge any good bestowed upon us. Pride can never enter heaven; it cannot be endured for one moment. There a proud man has the first ideas of the gospel yet to learn. Pride can never stand the test of the awful Judge upon his flaming throne, and you may depend upon it that God will banish it eternally from heaven.

No.	Ch.	Ver.
1	xi	2 Pride is a shame, humility is wisdom.
	xiii	10 Only by pride cometh contention.
2	xv	33 Before honour is humility.
4	xvi	5 Proud heart is abomination to God.
5	—	8 Haughty spirit before a fall.
6	—	12 Before destruction the heart is haughty.
7	xxi	4 An high look and a proud heart is a sin.
8	xxv	7 For better it is that it be said unto thee come up hither, than that thou shouldest be put lower, &c.
9	xxix	23 Man's pride shall bring him low.
10	xxx	13 There is a generation, how lofty are their eyes.

IX. *Diligence and Laziness.*

Diligence consists in the wise and proper employment of every part of our time in earliness in business—in activity and vigour, in a constancy of labour, in a firm resolution and perseverance in our work to the end of life.

Laziness consists in fauntring about, and doing nothing at all, and in trifling or impertinence, or doing what is to no purpose, or in mistiming the various actions of life, and the business that is to be done. It consists in perpetual delays, and leaving that to be done the next hour which may properly be done now. Lazy people belong to the family of the put-offs, because that they put off till to-morrow that business that ought to be done to-day, not knowing what a day may bring forth. Laziness consists in fauntring and wasting of time, by doing nothing

nothing at all, as though we were brought into the world to eat, drink, and sleep, and gaze away life; and then lie down in death; in trifling and wasting time in impertinances, this is like doing nothing at all—in mistiming the various actions of life; these are all failures in our duty, and contrary to the true diligence which the word of God requires: Such lazy fools are always beginning to do something else first—before the proper duty of that hour is to be done.

Laziness consists in a delay of the practice of any duty or service till the latter end of the appointed time comes—when we are put into a hurry—thrown into perpetual confusion—it is an excellent rule of prudence, Never leave that to be done the next hour which may properly be done this—nor dare to put off till to-morrow the business which you may as well begin to-day, who knows what a day may bring forth.

No. Ch. Ver.

1	x	1	The hand of the diligent maketh rich.
2	xii	11	Tiller of land shall have bread.
3	—	24	Slothful shall be under tribute.
4	—	27	Slothful roasteth not that which he took, &c.
5	xiii	4	The diligent soul shall be fat.
6	xv	19	The way of the slothful is like an hedge of thorns.
7	xviii	9	Slothful is brother to a waster.
8	xix	15	An idle soul shall suffer hunger.
9	—	24	The slothful man will not bring his hand to his mouth.
10	xx	4	The sluggard shall beg in harvest.
11	—	13	Love not sleep lest thou come to poverty.

O

Thoughts

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
12	xxi	5	Thoughts of the diligent tend to plenty.
13	—	25	The desire of the slothful killeth him.
14	xxii	13	Sluggard afraid of a lion.
15	—	29	Diligent shall stand before kings.
16	xxiv	9	Lazy sluggard's garden described at large.
17	xxvi	14	Sluggard like the door on its hinges.
18	xxvii	23	Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks.
19	xxviii	19	Tiller shall have bread.
20	xxxi	15	Rise early in the morning.

X. *Prudence and Rashness.*

Prudence consists in being keen and accurate in selecting good and rejecting evil, or in preferring the most excellent good and avoiding the most terrible evils, when there is a competition among either goods or evils, and in being discreet in using the best means to attain the good we want, or avoid the ills we fear. This prudence in our inward frame corresponds to sagacity, or a quickness of sense in our outward structures.

Prudence is the leading virtue—prudence is the eye, sincerity the life and soul, and fortitude the guard of the other virtues; without prudence to guide them, piety would degenerate into superstition, zeal into bigotry, temperance into austerity, courage into rashness, and justice itself into folly. Prudence is an ability of judging what is best in the choice both of ends and means. The opposite to prudence is folly or rashness.

Folly

Folly is either a mistake as to the end and the means, or prosecuting a good end by improper means.

He who proposes a good end, but makes use of the most unsuitable means is a half fool.—He who errs both in the end and the means is a finished fool.

No.	Ch.	Ver.
1	viii	12 I Wisdom, dwell with Prudence, &c.
2	xi	14 In the multitude of counsellors there is safety.
3	xiv	8 The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way.
4	—	9 Fools make a mock at sin.
5	—	18 The prudent shall be crowned with knowledge.
6	xviii	13 He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame unto him.
7	xix	11 Discretion deferreth anger.
8	xx	18 With good advice make war.
9	xxii	3 A prudent man foresees evil.
10	xxvii	12 Simple pass on and are punished.

XI. *Justice and Knavery.*

JUSTICE is a good disposition of the heart, to treat all mankind in such a manner, upon all occasions, as we would wish to be treated by them if we were exactly in their case. Justice will teach us to make a just return in matters of civility—The opposite is called rudeness To be just in affairs of social kindness—The opposite is called ingratitude. To be just in matters of compassion, to misery, and want—The opposite is called cruelty. To be just in the forgiveness of injuries—The opposite is called

revenge. To be just in the report of mens' characters—The opposite is called slander. To be just in matters of trust, money, and secrets committed to us—The opposite is called unfaithfulness. To be just in our obedience to magistrates, ministers, and masters—The opposite is called rebellion. To be just in matters of civil and religious liberty, or liberty of conscience, permitting to others as much liberty as I take myself in all cases civil and religious—The opposite to this is called tyranny and persecution. To be just in trade and commerce, in all actions of buying and selling—The opposite to this is called cheating and knavery. To be just in heart, to honour and respect our tutors and governors, the ministers of religion, our parents, our superiors in learning and virtue, and our magistrates. To be just in loving those who love us affectionately, and to be full of gratitude to those that have done us good, and been kind to our body, our souls, or our estates

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
1	xi	1	A false balance is an abomination to God.
2	xiii	11	Wealth got by vanity shall be diminished.
3	xvi	8	A little with righteousness better than great revenues without right. ✓
4	—	11	A just weight is God's delight.
5	xviii	5	It is not good to overthrow the just.
6	xx	10	Divers weights are an abomination to God.
7	—	23	False balance is not good.
8	xxi	3	To do justice is acceptable to God.
9	xxiii	10	Remove not the old land mark.
10	xxix	24	Partner of a thief hates his own soul.

XII. *Sincerity and Lying.*

Sincerity consists in a single intention to please God, and to meet with his approbation through our whole course of life—in an impartial inquiry into the whole extent of our duty—in an upright and universal application to the practice of our duty as far as we know it, and in an honest correspondence between the thoughts of our hearts, the words of our lips, and the actions of our lives.

On Lying.

A lie is a wilful disagreement of the mind and the tongue with a design to deceive.—A lie is to speak that which is false, contrary to the force of truth shining on the mind; and it is spoken with an intention and choice, and with a design to impose upon others.

No. Ch. Ver.

1	vi	17	Liar an abomination to God.
2	x	18	Liar is a fool.
3	xii	19	Lying tongue is but for a moment.
4	—	23	True dealers are God's delight.
5	xiii	5	Righteous hate lying.
6	xvii	4	A liar hearkens to a naughty tongue.
7	xx	14	It is nought faith the buyer, &c.
8	—	17	Bread of deceit is sweet to a man; but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with gravel.
9	xxvi	19	Deceiver is a mad man.
10	—	28	A lying tongue hateth those that are afflicted by it.

XIII. *Prating Fools and Silence.*

I. A close heart and an open face will carry you
through the world.

Sir Henry Wootton to Milton.

II. Think before you speak.
Think before whom you speak,
Think why you speak.
Think what you speak.

III. Hear, perceive, and yet be still,
If remain in peace you will.

For what is said in company,

Go twice to the file,
Before once to the tongue;
Mend this, 'tis worth while,
Whether you are old or young.

*See Dr. Cotton Mather's Maxims of Prudence,
methodized by Mr. John Ryland.*

No. Ch. Ver.

1	x	19	In the multitude of words there is fin.
2	xi	12	A man of sense keepeth silence.
3	xii	23	The heart of fools proclaimeth foolishness.
4	xiii	3	He that openeth wide his lips shall have destruction.
5	xvii	27	A wise man spareth his words.
6	—	28	A silent fool is counted wise.
7	xxix	11	A fool uttereth all his mind.
8	—	20	A man hasty in words is a fool.

He

No.	Ch.	Ver.
9	x	18 He that uttereth slander is a fool.
10	xxv	23 An angry countenance driveth away a back-biting tongue.

XIV. *Love and Hatred to Mankind.*

LOVE to man is such an high esteem for him, and such a good-will towards him on account of the rational and immortal nature which he hath in common with ourselves, as inclines us not to deny him any of his just rights, or do him any injury in his name, body, soul, or estate, but to feel a hearty desire to do him good, and to be ready to express it honestly in all the best offices of kindness, and acts of benevolence, as we have a just call and opportunity for it. Love to mankind considers the existence and astonishing powers of man originally created in the image of God's invisible power, wisdom, goodness, life, immortality and dominion.

Hatred to mankind consists in an ill-will to the human race, feeling a contempt for our fellow-creatures, from an apprehension that they are worthless, with an aversion to them, considering them as unfit to do us good—an enmity to their souls and bodies, considered as unworthy to receive good, together with a pain at heart, at a sight of their prosperity and happiness.

No.	Ch.	Ver.
1	x	12 Love covereth all sins.
2	xv	17 Better is a dinner of herbs with love, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith.
3	xvii	1 Better is a dry morsel with quiet- ness, than a house full of sacri- fices with strife.

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
4	xviii	9	He that covereth a transgression seeketh love.
5	—	—	Repeater of a matter separateth very friends.
6	—	14	The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water.
7	—	19	He loveth transgression that loveth strife.
8	xviii	19	Brother offended is hard to be reconciled.
9	xix	11	It is glory to pass over a transgression.
10	xx	3	Fools will be meddling.
11	xxv	8	Be not hasty to strive.
12	xxvi	17	Meddling with strife like taking a dog by the ears.
13	—	21	Coals to coals, so a contentious man.
14	xxix	9	Wife contend not with fools.

XV. *Conversation, good and bad.*

✓ **C**ONVERSATION signifies familiar discourse, easy talk opposed to a formal conference; it likewise signifies a particular act of discoursing upon any subject; it is a mutual communication of thoughts and sentiments between two or more persons. Good conversation is that which has a tendency to instruct the mind, persuade the will to pursue true happiness, please, and purify the passions, and sooth the mind amidst all the fatigues of life.

✓ **B**AD conversation is that which has a tendency to corrupt the judgment and taste, to pollute the passions, and promote vice in the life and conversation.

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
1	x	11	Mouth of the righteous is the well of life.
2	-	13	In the lips of an understanding man wisdom is found.
3	-	20	The tongue of the just is like choice silver
4	-	21	The lips of the righteous feed many.
5	-	31	Mouth of the just bringeth forth wisdom.
6	xv	2	Tongue useth knowledge aright.
7	—	7	The lips of the wise disperse knowledge. ✓
8	—	23	A word in season—How good is it? ✓
9	—	28	The heart of the righteous studieth to answer.
10	xvi	21	Sweetness of the lips increaseth learning.
11	—	23	The heart reacheth the mouth. ✓
12	—	24	Pleasant words are as an honey-comb.
13	xvii	7	Excellent speech becometh not a fool.
14	xviii	4	The words of a man's mouth are as deep waters.
15	—	7	A fool's mouth is his destruction.
16	—	21	Death and life are in the power of the tongue.
17	xx	15	The lips of knowledge are a precious jewel.
18	xxi	23	He who keepeth his mouth and tongue, keepeth his soul from trouble.
19	xxiii	9	Speak not in the ears of a fool.

No. Ch. Ver.

- 20 xxiv 26 Every one shall kiss his lips who
giveth a right answer
21 xxv 11 A word in season is like apples of
gold, &c.

XVI. *Honour and a good Name.*

HONOUR is an elegant sense of right and wrong—it is a scorn of meanness—it is an exquisite sensibility of the mind concerning good or bad actions, wrought up to perfection and delicacy by refined education and study, whereby the soul becomes able, with the utmost precision, to discern the beauty or deformity of any temper or action, and is inclined to embrace the good and the beautiful with esteem and veneration, and reject the deformed and bad with scorn and disdain.

No. Ch. Ver.

- 1 iii 16 In Christ's left hand is honour.
2 viii 18 Honour is with the divine Jesus.
3 xv 30 A good report fattens the bones.
4 xvi 21 He that followeth after righteousness
findeth honour.
5 xxii 1 A good name is better than great
riches.
6 xxv 27 To seek our own glory is not
glory.
7 xxix 23 Honour upholds the humble.
Ecc.
8 vi 2 God giveth honour.
9 x 1 A little folly causeth him who is in
reputation for wisdom and hon-
our, to send forth a stinking
favour. ✓

XVII. *Vanity*

XVII. *Vanity of the World, and Solidity of Religion.*

THE vanity of the world clearly appears in that all its beauty and glory depends alone on fancy—all the world is a lye and a traitor—it betrays our hopes into vexation, and betrays our souls into guilt and misery.

The world is a vexatious vanity.—There is vexation in getting riches, vexation in enjoying riches and pleasures, and vexation in losing them; and whether you get, or lose, you are always disappointed.

The vanity of the world appears, in that a little cross will imbitter great worldly comforts, and a moment's vexation will destroy all worldly joy. The vanity of the world appears, that the longer we enjoy worldly things, the more flat, insipid, and silly those things appear, and the more nauseous they grow.—The enjoyment of worldly pleasures is nothing else but a tedious repetition of the same thing, the same surfeits and shallow sensations—all the things of the world can stand us in no stead, at the sad times when we stand in most need of comfort, viz. they are vain and useless under terrors of conscience, and they are vain and useless at the hour of death.

The world is vain, as it is unsuitable to the soul of man. The soul is a spirit, the world is dead dross—the soul is immortal, the world is perishing—beauty, health, and pleasure all perish. The necessities of the soul are all of a quite different kind than what this world can supply. The world is full of inconstancy and fickleness; there is no stability in any thing, no certainty in any worldly comforts.

Treasures

No. Ch. Ver.

1	x	2	Treasures of wickedness profit nothing.	
2	xi	4	Riches profit not in the day of wrath.	
3	xv	16	Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, &c.	✓
4	xvi	8	Better is a little with righteousness, &c.	✓
5	—	16	It is better to get wisdom than gold.	
6	xvii	1	Better is a dry morsel and quietness therewith, &c.	
7	xix	1	A poor honest man is better than a rich fool.	
8	xxviii	6	An honest poor man is better than a perverse rich man.	✓
9	—	11	A rich man is wise in his own conceit.	
Ecc.				
10	v	12	Riches hinder a man's sleep.	

XVIII. *Education of Children.*

A Compleat and generous education is that which clearly instructs the understanding, regulates the will, and teaches the proper use of the passions, and forms the manners.

It consists in preparing the mind, by furnishing it with such sound principles of truth, such maxims and rules of prudence, as shall enable a man, with integrity, benevolence, fortitude, and wisdom, in the fear of God, to execute all the duties of the personal, social, and religious life, to the honour of God, and his own eternal happiness.

The great end of a wise and good education is to repair, as far as we can, the ruins of our first parents, and recover ourselves, in some measure, from the deep corruption of the human powers—by regaining the clear and right knowledge of God, and from that distinct and just apprehension of his being and perfections, to love him, and resemble and adore him.

No.	Ch.	Ver.
1	xiii	21 He that spareth his rod hateth his child.
2	xix	18 Chasten thy son while there is hope.
3	xx	21 Even a child is known by his doings.
4	xxii	6 Train up a child in the way he should go.
5	—	15 Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child.
6	xxiii	14 If thou beat him with a rod, thou shalt deliver him from hell.
7	—	22 Hearken unto thy father that begot thee.
8	xxix	15 A child left to himself brings his mother to shame. Correct thy son and he shall give thee rest.
Eccl.		
9	xii	1 Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth.

XIX. *Rich and Poor.*

Riches consists in a sufficiency of good things for our real wants, and a satisfaction of mind with that sufficiency—or it is such a supply of all our reasonable desires, as shall furnish us for the sweet enjoyments

joyments of human life. When a man has such a sufficiency of temporal good things as shall give him a full liberty for the improvement of his time, and give him a relish of good health and spirits—the enlargement of his knowledge and learning, the sweet fruition of civil liberty, the possession of a calm serenity of temper, the attractive charms of friendship, and the delights of improving conversation—the steady exercise of benevolence to mankind to the utmost of our power—or in shorter words—riches consists in a proper adjustment of all temporal good things to our real wants, so far as to enable us to possess and enjoy our religion, our time, our health, our learning, our liberty, our safety, our good temper, our friends, and our benevolence to all the world.

Poverty is just the opposite to riches.

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
1	x	15	The rich man's wealth is a strong city.
2	-	22	The blessing of God maketh rich.
3	xi	28	He that trusts in his riches shall fall.
4	xiii	7	There is that maketh himself rich, yet is poor.
5	xiv	20	The poor is hated of his neighbours, but the rich hath many friends.
6	xviii	11	The rich is a high wall in his own conceit.
7	—	23	The rich answereth roughly.
8	xix	4	Wealth maketh many friends.
9	—	7	All the brethren of the poor do hate him.
10	—	22	A poor man is better than a liar
11	xxii	2	The rich and poor meet together ; the Lord is the maker of them both.

The

- 12 xxii 7 The borrower is servant to the leader.
 13 xxix 13 The poor and deceitful man meet together; the Lord lighteth both their eyes.

XX. *Generosity and sordid Covetousness.*

Covetousness consists in an ardent desire after some private inferior good, as if it was the chief good, and a man's utmost end—it is a violent bent towards this inferior good for its own sake—it is a peculiar lustful taste for money, so that the heart is wrapped up in the love of the world, and the affections run deep in the love of gold. The soul is so far under the dominion of the world as a despotic tyrant—that the poor creature spends the best of his time, the chief of his thoughts, and his most active spirits and labours to procure and preserve money, and other worldly goods. The man makes the world not only the matter of his use, but the object of his supreme enjoyment—he looks no higher for satisfaction than the enjoyment of gold—and he is more afflicted at the loss of money than he is for the loss of God—the loss of the gospel—the loss of the Lord Jesus, and the ruin of his soul.

The reverse of this is generosity.

No.	Ch.	Ver.
1	xi	24 There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth.
2	—	29 The covetous man troubles his own house.
3	—	25 The liberal soul shall be fat.
4	xii	10 The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.

He

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
5	xiv	21	He that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he.
6	—	31	He that oppresseth the poor, reproacheth his Maker.
7	xv	27	He that is greedy of gain troubles his own house.
8	xvii	5	He that mocketh the poor reproacheth his Maker.
9	xix	17	He that pitieth the poor lends to the Lord.
10	xxi	13	Whoso stoppeth his ear at the cry of the poor, &c.
11	xxii	9	He that hath a bountiful eye shall be blessed.
12	—	22	Rob not the poor, because he is poor.
13	xxiii	4	Labour not to be rich.
14	—	5	Riches make to themselves wings, and flee away.
15	xxviii	27	He that giveth to the poor shall not lack.
16	xxix	7	The righteous considers the cause of the poor.
	Ecc.		
17	iv	8	His eye is not satisfied with riches.

XXI. *Good and bad Men.*

A Good man—He makes the interest of all mankind his own—he cannot think himself happy while he sees others miserable—his estate delights him, chiefly as the poor are benefited by it—he thinks he has discharged but the least part of his duty, when he has done strict justice to all men—he retrenches useless extravagance, that he may practice a more generous charity—he seeks for opportunities

nities to be useful through the stated business of his life—he contrives and studies to lay out all his talents for the publick good—his inquiry every morning is—What good can I do to-day? If I have a talent of power, let me protect the oppressed; if I have a talent of riches, let me supply the poor; if I have a talent of knowledge, let me instruct the ignorant; to resemble the goodnests of Jesus Christ shall be my greatest boast and glory.

The bad man is the reverse of all this.

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
1	x	23	It is sport for a fool to do mischief.
2	xi	9	A hypocrite with his mouth destroyeth his neighbours.
3	—	10	When the wicked perish there is shouting.
4	—	11	By the blessing of the upright—the city is exalted.
5	—	23	The desire of the righteous is only good.
6	—	27	He that seeketh mischief, it shall come unto him.
7	xii	5	The counsels of the wicked are deceit.
8	—	6	The words of the wicked are to lie in wait for blood.
9	—	12	The root of the righteous yieldeth fruit.
10	—	18	There is that speaketh like the piercings of a sword.
11	—	20	But to the counsellors of peace is joy.
12	xiii	2	The soul of the transgressor shall eat violence.
13	xiv	22	Mercy and truth shall be to them that devise good.

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
14	xvi	29	A violent man enticeth his neighbour.
15	xvii	11	An evil man seeks only rebellion.
16	xxi	10	The soul of the wicked desireth evil.
17	xxv	8	He that desireth to do evil shall be called a mischievous person.
18	xxvi	23	Burning lips and a wicked heart are like a potsherd covered with silver dross.
19	—	27	Who so diggeth a pit shall fall therein.
20	xxxii	12	The virtuous woman doeth good all the days of her life.

XXII. *Good and bad Women and Wives.*

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
1	xi	16	Gracious women retaineth honour.
2	-	22	Fair women without discretion.
3	xii	4	Virtuous woman a crown to a husband.
4	xiv	1	Wife woman builds—foolish destroys.
5	xviii	22	A good wife is a good thing.
6	xix	13	Contentions of a wife.
7	—	14	Prudent wife is from the Lord.
8	xxi	9	Brawling woman in a wide house.
9	—	19	Wilderness better than an angry woman.
10	xxv	24	House top better than a brawling woman.
11	xxvii	15	Rainy day and a contentious woman.
12	xxxii	10	Noble virtuous woman.

XXIII. *Anger*

XXIII. *Anger and Meekness.*

ANGER is a violent and painful emotion of the mind, upon the receiving any real or supposed injury, with a present purpose of revenge for the injury done.

Meekness is a ready submission of the soul to the word of God, and a chearful resignation to his providence without fretfulness. Meekness, in respect to mankind, consists in calmness of temper under provocations—not taking offence hastily, nor allowing resentment to rise higher than the offence—keeping a strict guard upon our own spirit and language—being slow in using rough methods to right ourselves from injuries—being always in readiness to be reconciled when the offence is confessed. Meekness includes likewise a care to avoid giving offence to others, a modesty of behaviour, not overbearing in company, and a toposfulness of self. Most men know how to do all this, when it is to serve an end of their own. Meekness likewise includes a modest comporting of ourselves to our station and circumstances. Meekness disposes inferiors contentedly to submit to the duties of their station—it forms superiors, under smiling providences, to a lowly easy behaviour. Meekness teaches us a temperate and calm behaviour in matters of religion.—It is highly beautiful to exert a meek spirit in Christian societies.

No. Ch. Ver.

- | | | | |
|---|-----|----|---|
| 1 | xii | 16 | A fool's wrath is presently known. |
| 2 | xiv | 7 | Go from the presence of a foolish man. |
| 3 | — | 29 | He that is slow to anger is of great understanding. |

No. Ch. V er.

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|----|---|
| 4 | xv | 1 | A soft answer turneth away wrath. |
| 5 | — | 1 | Grievous words stir up anger. |
| 6 | — | 1 | He that is slow to anger appeaseth strife. |
| 7 | xvi | 32 | He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city. |
| 8 | xvii | 12 | Better meet a bear robbed of her whelps, than a fool in his folly. |
| 9 | — | 27 | A man of understanding is of an excellent spirit. |
| 10 | xix | 11 | The discretion of a man deferreth anger. |
| 11 | xxi | 24 | Proud and haughty scorner is his name who dealeth in proud wrath. |
| 12 | xxii | 24 | Make no friendship with an angry man. |
| 13 | xxv | 15 | A soft tongue breaketh the bones. |
| 14 | — | 28 | He that hath no rule over his own spirit, is like a city broken down and without walls. |
| 15 | xxix
Ecc. | 22 | An angry man stirreth up strife. |
| 16 | vii | 8 | The patient in spirit is better than the proud. |
| 17 | — | 9 | Anger rests in the bosom of fools. |

XXIV. *Self-conceited Fools.*

No. Ch. V er.

- | | | | |
|---|-----|----|---|
| 1 | iii | 5 | Lean not to thine own understanding. |
| 2 | xiv | 12 | There is a way which seems right, and the end is death. |
| 3 | xv | 2 | The mouths of fools pour out foolishness. |

A way

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
4	xvi	25	A way which seems right—the end death.
5	xviii	11	The rich man's wealth is an high wall in his own conceit.
6	xx	6	Most men proclaim their own goodness.
7	xxi	2	Every way of a man is right in his own eyes.
8	xxvi	5	Answer a fool according to his folly.
9	—	12	There is more hope of a fool, than a man wise in his own conceit.
10	—	16	Sluggard wiser in his own conceit than seven men.
11	xxviii	11	The rich man is wise in his own conceit.
12	xxx	12	There is a generation pure in their own eyes.

XXV. *Friendship and bad Company.*

Friendship is the sweet attraction of the heart towards the merit we esteem, or the perfections we admire, and produces a mutual inclination between two persons, to promote each other's pleasure and happiness.

Friendship is a forcible inclination in two or more persons, to promote the knowledge and happiness of each other.

Friendship is the union of two souls, by means of vital virtue, which is the commencement or bond of their mutual affection.—Friendship is a composition of the noblest feelings and passions of the mind. The ingredients of friendship are good sense, a refined taste, a fervent love of virtue, a thorough

candour of heart, a generous temper, with a lively wit and chearfulness.

No. Ch. Ver.

1	i	9	My son if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.
2	xiii	20	The companions of fools shall be destroyed.
3	xiv	7	Go from the presence of a fool.
4	xvii	17	A true friend loveth at all times.
5	xviii	24	A man that hath friends sheweth himself friendly.
6	xxii	24	Make no friendship with an angry man.
7	xxv	17	Withdraw thy foot from thy neighbour's house.
8	xxvii	6	Faithful are the wounds of a friend, &c.
9	—	9	Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart.
10	—	14	He that bleisseth his friend early with a loud voice.
11	—	17	Iron sharpeneth iron.
12	xxix	3	Keep not company with harlots.

XXVI. *Giving Reproofs and Correction.*

No. Ch. Ver.

1	xvii	10	A reproof entereth into a wise man more than an hundred, &c.
2	xix	25	Reprove a wise man, and he will understand knowledge.
3	—	29	Stripes are prepared for the back of fools.
4	xx	30	The blueness of a wound cleanseth away evil.

When

- | | | | |
|----|--------|----|--|
| 5 | xxi | 11 | When a scorner is punished, the simple are made wise. |
| 6 | xxv | 12 | As an ear-ring of gold, &c. |
| 7 | xxvi | 3 | A whip for the horse, and rod for the fool's back. |
| 8 | xxvii | 5 | Open rebuke is better than secret love. |
| 9 | — | 22 | Bray a fool in a mortar, yet will his foolishness not, &c. |
| 10 | xxviii | 23 | A rebuker is better than a flatterer. |
| 11 | xxix | 1 | He that being often reprov'd, hardeneth his heart. |

XXVII. *Folly of Suretyship.*

A Surety is a person that engages for a poor wretch that has no credit, nor ability to pay his debts. No man ought to be surety for another, unless he has a full ability to pay his whole debt without injustice to himself or others; consequently the greater part of people that become surety for others, act a very foolish part.

No.	Ch.	Ver.
1	xi	15 He that is surety for another.
2	—	— He that hateth suretyship is sure.
3	xviii	18 A man void of understanding becomes surety.
4	xx	16 Take his garment that is surety for a stranger.
5	xxii	28 Remove not the ancient landmark.
6	—	27 If thou hast nothing to pay, why should he take thy bed.
7	xxvii	13 Take his garment that is surety for a stranger.

XXVIII. *Kings and Subjects.*

A KING is a man naturally upon a level with the lowest of mankind—he, in common with other men, has a right to life, liberty, and property—he is trusted with power by the common people, which power he is bound to exercise with wisdom and justice, for the happiness of every individual that has parted with a share of his natural rights for the public good.

A subject is a man that is willing to be governed by laws that are made with his own free and full consent.

No. Ch. Ver.

- | | | | |
|-----|------|----|---|
| 1 | xiv | 28 | In the multitude of people is the King's honour. |
| 2 | — | 34 | Righteousness exalteth a nation. |
| 3 | xvi | 10 | A divine sentence is in the mouth of a king. |
| [4 | — | 12 | It is an abomination for kings to commit wickedness. |
| 5 | — | 15 | In the light of the king's countenance is life. |
| 6 | xix | 6 | Many intreat the favour of a prince. |
| 7 | — | 12 | The king's wrath is like the roaring of a lion. |
| [8 | xx | 28 | Mercy and truth preserve the king. |
| 9 | — | 26 | A wise king scattereth the wicked |
| 10 | xxii | 11 | He that loveth pureness of heart, the king shall be his friend. |
| 11 | xxiv | 24 | The nation shall curse a flatterer. |
| 12 | xxv | 2 | It is the honour of kings to search out a matter. |
| 13 | — | 5 | Take away the wicked from the king, &c. |

The

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
14	xxix	4	The king establissheth the kingdom by judgement.
15	—	12	If a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked.
16	—	14	The king that faithfully judgeth the poor, &c.
17	—	26	Many seek the ruler's favour.

XXIX. *Chearfulness and Melancholy.*

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
1	iii	17	Wisdom's ways are pleasantness and peace.
2	xii	25	A good word in the heart of man maketh it glad.
3	xiv	13	Even in laughter the heart is sor- rowful.
4	xv	13	A merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance.
5	—	15	A merry heart hath a continual feast.
6	xvi	27	An ungodly man diggeth up evil.
7	xvii	22	A merry heart doth good like a medicine.
8	xviii	14	A wounded spirit, Who can bear?
9	xxv	25	Cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country.
10	xxxix	6	Give wine to those of an heavy heart.

XXX. *Slander and Tale-bearing.*

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
1	x	18	He that uttereth slander is a fool. A tale-bearer revealeth secrets.

An

An ungodly man diggeth up evil.

A froward man soweth strife.

A tale-bearer's words are as wounds descending into the belly.

A tale-bearer revealeth secrets.

An angry countenance driveth away a backbiting tongue.

Accuse not a servant to his master.

There is a generation that curse their father and mother.

There is a generation whose teeth are as knives.

XXXI. *Summum Bonum, or the Happiness of good Men, and Misery of bad Men.*

THE happiness of a good man consists in a lively and lovely idea of God—in a repose of the soul on the friendship of God—a filial temper suited to God as a father—a sweet sense of his favour in all temporal enjoyments—a devolving all our cares upon the cares of the Almighty—perpetual joy in the existence and perfections of God—with a flow of lively gratitude for all his mercies—a masterly dominion over all our vicious appetites—with a government of the mad fire of the great passions—with all our polluted imaginations and taste.—It consists in exulting in the flames of love to God, and to all mankind—breathing nothing but love to all the creatures in heaven and earth—conversing every hour with Christ Jesus as the eternal Lord and God of the soul—possessing the eternal life of God in the heart—in the full vigour and joy of our rational powers.—In a word, happiness in heaven begun in the soul, which will never, never have an end.

Pro-

Properties of Happiness.

It must be agreeable to our noblest faculties.

It must be suitable to the most refined taste.

Agreeable to every situation in life.

Suited to every office and character we can sustain.

Enjoyed without shame and blushes.

Possessed without the suspicion of my being a fool.

It must be attended with no dread of bad consequences.

It must comfort a man under the severest troubles.

It must refine and satisfy the affections.

It must abide the most severe review and keenest reflections.

It must improve and grow better upon longer experience, and must afford still sweeter fruition on more frequent repetitions.

It must be as large as my vast capacity, and as lasting as my eternal existence.

Misery of bad Men.

A bad man is ignorant of the true God and Jesus Christ.

He never did return to God as the rest of his soul.

He never came to God as his Father, through the Mediator.

He enjoys no God in the comforts of life.

He has no true reliance upon the care of God for soul and body.

He has no joy in the Lord in any condition.

He has no delight in the sweet employments of praising God.

He

He is under the dominion of his vile brutal appetites.

He is a slave to his mad and head-strong passions.

He has no generous love to his fellow-creatures.

He is a total stranger to converse with God.

He has no solid prospect of heaven, but has the spirit, and temper, and terror of hell begun in his soul.

32 *The Properties of Misery in a bad Man.*

The pleasures of sin are disagreeable to his highest nature.

They are not suitable to his noblest faculties, and are a black reproach to his reason.

His pleasures are injurious to every situation in life.

They are a foul disgrace to every worthy character.

They cannot be enjoyed without guilty blushes, a burning shame, and confusion of face.

Nor possess without strong suspicion of acting like a fool.

He enjoys nothing without dread of justice, and fear of bad consequences.

All his comforts cannot support him under a moment's trouble, nor give him the least serenity in affliction—every thing he meets with enrages the wound.

His guilty pleasures pollute and poison his best passions.

He cannot stand the severe test of a moment's review, and reflection upon his past conduct is full of terror.

His filthy pleasures grow insipid and nauseous upon longer experience; they last but for a moment,

ment, and leave the soul at death to all eternity, without a possible repetition of one pleasure for ever.

SECTION I.

No.	Ch.	Ver.
1	x	6 Blessings are upon the head of the just.
2	-	16 The labour of the righteous tendeth to life.
3	-	24 The fear of the wicked shall come upon him.
4	-	27 The years of the wicked shall be shortened.
5	-	28 The hope of the righteous shall be gladness.
6	-	29 Destruction shall be to the workers of iniquity.
7	-	30 The righteous shall never be removed.
8	xi	3 The integrity of the upright shall guide them.
9	—	5 The wicked shall fall by his wickedness.
10	—	8 The righteous is delivered out of trouble.

SECTION II.

No.	Ch.	Ver.
11	xi	18 The wicked worketh a deceitful work.
12	—	23 The desire of the righteous is only good.
13	—	19 Righteousness tendeth to life.

A froward

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
14	—	20	A froward heart is an abomination to God.
15	—	21	Though hand join in hand, the wicked go not unpunished.
16	—	31	The righteous shall be recompensed in the earth.
17	xii	2	A good man obtaineth favour of the Lord.
18	—	3	A man shall not be established by sin.
19	—	7	The house of the righteous shall stand.
20	—	13	The just shall come out of trouble.
21	—	26	The righteous more excellent than his neighbours.

SECTION III.

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
22	xii	28	In the way of righteousness is life.
23	xiii	6	Wickedness overthroweth the sinner.
24	—	9	The lamp of the wicked shall be put out.
25	—	14	Law of the wise is the fountain of life.
26	—	15	Good understanding giveth favour.
27	—	22	A good man leaveth an inheritance to his children.
28	—	25	The belly of the wicked shall want.
29	xiv	11	The house of the wicked shall be overthrown.
30	—	14	A good man shall be satisfied from himself.
31	—	19	The wicked bow at the gates of the righteous.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
32	xiv	32	The wicked are driven away in their wickedness.
33	xv	6	In the house of the righteous is much treasure.
34	—	8	The prayer of the upright is God's delight. ✓
35	—	9	The way of the wicked is an abomination to God.
36	—	24	The way of life is above the wise.
37	—	26	The thoughts of the wicked are abomination to God.
38	—	29	The Lord is far from the wicked.
39	xx	7	The just man walketh in his integrity.
40	xxi	12	God destroyeth the wicked from their wickedness.
41	—	15	It is joy to the just to do judgment.

SECTION V.

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
42	xxi	16	A wanderer from understanding shall remain among the dead.
43	—	18	The wicked shall be ransom for the just.
44	—	21	He that followeth after righteousness findeth life.
45	xxii	12	God overthrows the words of a transgressor.
46	xxviii	10	The upright possesses good things.
47	—	18	He that walketh uprightly shall be saved.

The

No.	Ch.	Ver.	
48	iii	33	The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked.
49	xxix Eccl.	6	The righteous sing and rejoice.
50	ii	26	God gives a good man wisdom, and joy, and knowledge.
51	iv	8	For whom do I labour, and be- reave my soul of God.

*A Contemplation on the Nature and Madnefs of
Atheism, with its ruinous Consequences to the
Peace and Happinefs of Mankind.*

I. Its Nature and Madnefs.

ATheism is a sickly state of mind, and a corrupt disposition of the heart, which forcibly inclines a man to doubt of the existence of God.

It is such an horrid state of the soul as disposes a man to suspend his thoughts, and withdraw his assent from the evidences of God's existence.

And when this corrupt state of the heart is advanced to its last stage of rankness and venomous enmity, it prompts a man to attempt, by deceitful reasoning and perverse objections, to destroy all proofs of the glorious existence of God.

An Atheist is a sickly putrid wretch, his head is crazy, and his heart is rotten; he is destitute of right reason, and void of common sense and honesty.

He is a mass of absurdity and folly, the meanest and most depraved being in all God's creation; the damned are more rational, and approach nearer to the nature of man than himself.

He

He doubts of things the most clear and evident ; he denies the existence of things the most certain.

I. He asserts that he knows that which no man can know, and he is certain of that which nobody can be certain of, that there is no God—and that it is not possible that there should be a God. The Atheist is certain of a pure negative, that there is no such being as a God : and therefore he must have the impudence to say he knows all things that ever were in the world, or that now exists, or that ever shall be in the whole course of nature, and all events; that can possibly fall out amongst mankind.

Now if an Atheist is so insolent as to assert all this, it is to be hoped that no man will be such a fool as to give him one grain of credit, or for one moment believe him.

See Dr. Tillotson, Vol. i. Sermon i. p. 36; 24th Edit.

II. The Atheist thinks that the idea of a first cause is in itself absurd, or contrary to the reason of man, although he does not believe, he is not able to think, that the notion of any cause whatever, is absurd. He sees, he is forced to see, that there are causes in vast abundance in air, earth, and sea ; but he denies one first cause, and madly holds, that there is an eternal succession and chain of effects; without any first cause at all.

He sees the sun to be the cause of softening wax; of hardening clay, of drying of waters—that fire is the cause of boiling water ; frost is the cause of ice ; a want of food is the cause of hunger ; a want of liquids is the cause of thirst ; but the foolish Atheist believes that there is no one first cause of all these causes.

III. The Atheist is forced to affirm and maintain, that there are some apparent and real circumstances in the frame of the world, which are absolutely inconsistent with its having an intelligent and voluntary cause of its existence.

That there are some plain marks in the structure of the universe, which shew the impossibility of any wise designing cause existing in our system of things.

This is the high-blooded assertion of Atheists.

IV. He thinks that a creative power is a flat and full contradiction to the reason of man: He cannot imagine or comprehend how any being can give being to another, how a spiritual being can give being to matter, and therefore he believes a spiritual being has no existence—that a material being cannot give existence to a material being, and therefore he thinks it impossible it should be so.

V. An Atheist believes that the idea of a God came by meer tradition from father to son, and that the son was imposed upon and deluded by the father; that the father was deceived by the grandfather; that the grandfather was cheated by the great-grandfather, and so on, cheat upon cheat, through eternal generations of men.

VI. This desperate madman asserts, with abundant impudence and absurdity, that the first ideas and apprehensions of a God were produced by the united craft of princes and politick governors, to keep men in awe.

He believes that all these cunning princes met from all parts of the world, by mutual consent and design, some time, but he cannot tell *when*, and in some place, but he cannot tell *where*, and that they did make an agreement to impress the notion of a God in all parts of the world, but he cannot for his *life* tell how.

However he will believe all, though he can never tell *when*, or *where*, or *how* it was done—but he believes it may be; and as he thinks it may be, he believes it must be.

O wise Mr. May be.

VII. He thinks and affirms, that the weak and foolish fears of men first introduced the idea and conception,

ception; or sense and apprehension of a God; and still fear keeps up this notion in the world.

Though he cannot tell *how* men came to feel these fears; or *when* they begun to operate, or *where* they were first propagated, or *why* they came to spread so wide, and continue so many thousand years in the world.

VIII. He affirms, that as he never saw God with his bodily eyes, therefore he thinks there is no God; he never saw his own soul, therefore he thinks he has no soul; he never saw his own animal spirits, therefore he has no animal spirits; he never saw the wind or the air, therefore there is no air or wind in the world; and on the same wise principles, as he never saw Rome, or Pekin in China, therefore no such places exist on earth—he cannot see a thousand miles on the ocean therefore it is impossible for the ocean to be such an extent.

IX. He thinks that all things came alike to all men in the world, and that all actions, tempers, and characters are alike, having neither good or evil in any of them; in short, that there is no such thing as moral good or evil on earth, or ever existed amongst mankind.

That all men are neither good or bad; that there is no moral difference in men, or in their temper, actions, and conduct.

Moral good and evil are only empty sounds, without any meaning or sense in them.

And although different actions produce different effects, different natural effects of pain or pleasure, different natural effects of happiness or misery, yet there is no difference in the quality of the actions themselves.

Drunkenness and sobriety are one as good as the other.

Gluttony and temperance are alike in their moral qualities.

Lewdness and chastity are alike ; that is, they are neither good or evil.

Cheating and honesty are the same.

Murder is as good in itself as mercy.

And cruelty is no more evil than compassion.

All the difference is only in the effects of pain or pleasure these actions produce.

So that a man that gets drunk every day—that eats like a hog every meal, has a whore every hour, and plunders his fellow-creatures all the days of his life—that is cruel as a dragon to all mankind, that sheds human blood every moment, that kills a man with every stroke of his arm, and butchers the finest of his fellow-creatures every instant, is as good a man in the eye of blind fate and fortune as the most sober, temperate, chaste, compassionate, tender, merciful, and honest man on the face of the earth.

Let an Atheist believe this, not I.

X. He thinks that all matter and motion exists from eternity, as it doth now.

That eternal matter, and eternal motion produced all the thought that is in the world, but when, or how, he cannot for his life declare.

He is forced to affirm, that thought existed from eternity, or that thinking powers, in millions of men, started into existence at some time or other, and some how or other from eternal matter and eternal motion.

But for the blood of him he cannot tell how thought started into being, or when, or where the first thinking power began ; but he is a *strong believer* that thought, and all the millions of thinking powers in the world were begotten by eternal matter and eternal motion. His devotion runs thus :

O ! eternal matter and motion, I adore thee as the parent of all thoughts, and thinking powers in the universe.

Eternal

Eternal matter, viz. solid extension. Eternal motion, viz. change of place produced thought, viz. acts that are conscious of their own existence, free voluntary motions.

So that eternal solid extension, and eternal change of place produced eternal voluntary self-conscious motion.

Let the devil believe it, not I.

XI. He believes that this curious and beautiful world may be made by blind chance, or eternal fate, without the least art or design.

That without any wise cause, or powerful understanding agent, life, sense, thought, reason, imagination, choice, memory, and passions, may result from stupid senseless matter, and dead solid extension.

And as it may be so, therefore it is so, it was so, it must be so, it may be, and as it may be, I think it must be so, and it cannot be otherwise, therefore I think it must be ; and as I can give no other reason, I desire you would swallow that, and let it not choak you.



II. *The horrid Consequences, or destructive Evils of Atheism.*

I. **W**HAT a ruined fool, what a pernicious madman is an Atheist? How injurious is Atheism to the whole world of mankind?

Atheism, or the denial of God's existence, roots up all the foundation of moral rectitude ; it tears up the original basis of civil government, and taps the principles of society and solid happiness.

It unhinges all states and orders of men, destroys all laws, human and divine ; it dashes to pieces all

rules of action, which command what is right, and forbid what is wrong, and ruins all wise and just measures of society.

II. Atheism introduces the most horrid and alarming evils amongst mankind; it plucks up the flood gates of all kinds of daring and desperate wickedness, and lets in a horrible torrent of lust and murders amongst mankind.

It gives a horrid license to all societies and individual persons to do what mischief and madness they please, without the least redress or possibility of relief for one moment.

It destroys the last resort of the oppressed, the ultimate refuge of the miserable, and suffers the most malignant villains to act without a blush, and be wicked without fear.

It opens a terrible gap for the weak and helpless to lose life, liberty, and property, without the least hope of relief for themselves, or hope of punishment and ruin for their bloodiest enemies.

The world would soon be destroyed and rooted up by Atheism; the frame of nature torn to pieces: the human race could not exist but a few days or hours—all mankind must certainly be drowned in perdition, and drenched in blood, and death, and destruction for ever.

III. This desperate madness and wickedness ruins entirely the Atheist himself.

The Atheist is inevitably ruined in his body, blood, and happiness, by his own desperate frenzy and furious madness.

It roots up all the comfort and joy of his life, and fills his heart with horrid darkness and disorder; it spreads a dreadful gloom over his sickly and distempered understanding, and strips and impoverishes his degraded soul.

The

The soul of an Atheist is all poverty, horror, sickness, and madness ; it is destitute of light, love, order, beauty, and pleasure.

His soul is destitute of every moral excellence and lovely perfection, it is quite unqualified for self-enjoyment, or social virtue, or a moment's true happiness.

This feverish frenzy destroys all the noble springs of worthy actions, and extinguishes every spark of honour in the soul ; it expels all the finest moral feelings of the heart, and roots up all sense of generosity and benevolence.

And as he attempts to free himself from all fear of punishment for his wicked deeds, so he cuts himself off from all hope of reward for one thought or action in his whole life.

What sense of honour can there be in the soul of an Atheist ? what generous emotions can he feel in his breast ?

Honour can have no seat in his corrupted mind—with an Atheist conscience is only an empty name, a meer bug-bear to frighten fools and children.

His putrid malignant soul can have no ideas of right or wrong, good or evil ; he confounds all notions of baseness and generosity, and mingles ideas of vice and virtue in one general chaos.

Thus Atheism roots up all order, beauty, goodness, and felicity from the whole earth, tears up the foundations of human nature, turns the world into a dark dungeon of confusion and horror, and leaves not one spark of hope or joy to one soul in the whole world of mankind.

What a gloomy dark animal is an Atheist !

He is not a man, he is a brute ! nay below a toad, he is a monster in the creation of God. He is conscious of no reigning good order in his bosom ; he feels no noble spring of action in the soul, no generous purposes rising in his heart : He knows not

one motive to brave designs, not one argument to urge him to one act of virtue, no reason to excite to the least good, no kind of hope of happiness here or beyond the grave.

His highest aim is to live like a beast and die like a dog; all his hopes and comfort must be, that his carcass, after death, will fatten the soil to produce new brutes his brethren, and nourish monsters like himself.

IV. The abounding of Atheism, in our age and nation, is matter of astonishment, sorrow, fear, and the most fervent indignation.

How amazing and alarming is it to see the foolishness and madness of Atheism abound so horribly in Great-Britain?

What a monster is an Atheist in such a land of learning, and light and knowledge as ours!

Britain hath been a seat of as clear gospel light, as solid learning and elevated genius, science and taste, as any nation under heaven.

An Atheist! an Atheist! in such a seat of refined learning and cultivated reason, where the whole circle of the liberal sciences are improved to the highest pitch of beauty and delicate perfection.

Ah Britons! what a scandal is this to our character! what an eternal shame to our island to find such a dirty monster as an Atheist in the most learned nation on the face of the earth; a kingdom distinguished for the greatest strength of reason, and the most glorious energy of thought and conception, and which has borne the prize for science from all the empires under heaven.

To see an Atheist in our land amidst the Bacons, the Boyles, the Miltons, the Lockes, the Newtons, the Youngs, of the past and present age.

To see an Atheist's face amidst a thousand millions of evidences of God's mighty existence and presence, is enough to fill a devil with horror, and
strike

strike him with eternal wonder to see himself outdone in impudence and hardness of heart !

It is utterly impossible for any man, or a world of men, to prove that there is no God.—A man can demonstrate nothing here but only that he is a bigger fool than the devil.

A man has no medium of proof, he has no ideas that can evince that there is no God : the idea of no God will not admit of proof by making use of other ideas, and visible things in the world, whose agreement with the idea of no God can be perceived by the mind in the whole process of the demonstration.

It is a pretended and mad attempt at a demonstration that is impossible. Search all the universe around, O ! mad Atheist, search thy soul and body through and through ; search all past ages, and books, and facts, and events, thou shalt not find one single argument to prove that there is no God.

The Atheist is amazingly unreasonable, and contemptibly absurd to the last degree, because he pretends to know that which no man can know, and to be certain of that which nobody can be certain of—that is, that there is no God, and that it is not possible there should be one.

The Atheist pretends to be certain of a pure negative, that there is no such being as God—but no man can reasonably pretend to know thus much, but he must pretend to know all things that are or can be, which if any man should be so vain as to pretend to—yet it is to be hoped that nobody would be so silly a fool as to believe him.

An Atheist has a world of creatures up in arms against him, to kill him as you would a venomous mad dog.

Yea if any man doubts but for a moment of the existence and presence of a God, he has an universe of creatures in battle array to fight him, and destroy him as a fool for his silly impudence.

The

The variety, beauty, harmony, and innumerable ranks of creatures will fight against the Atheist, and drive out such a detestable monster from a grand system which is full of God.

Let the glorious mass of fire in the sun burn him, let the moon light him to the gallows, let the stars in their courses fight against the Atheist, let the forces of the comets dash him to pieces, let the roar of thunders strike him deaf, let red lightnings blast his guilty soul, let the sea lift up her mighty waves to bury him, let the lion tear him to pieces, let dogs devour him, let the air poison him, let the next crumb of bread choke him, nay let the dull ass spurn him to death.

Is not this absurd fool secretly afraid that he is in the wrong? Does not he often suspect himself to be in an error? that his senseless mind is horribly mistaken.

Surely the mad Atheist has some lucid intervals, some moments of rational thoughts, wherein he feels the displeasure of a holy God, that hates his crimes, and will punish him with shame and pain, and a crimson red vengeance for his horrid impudence.

God will be heard and felt in the soul and conscience of an Atheist, though the monster outlives the devil, and pretends he neither believes nor trembles; yet there is a God that will make him feel a living hell within his soul, a God that will fill him with the darkness and pains of hell before he enters the invisible and eternal world.

III. *The Springs and Causes of Atheism.*

WHAT are the springs of so vile a temper, the causes of so corrupt a heart?

What are the Atheist's motives to excite him to deny the being of a God?

What is it that urges him to banish all ideas of a first eternal cause of all things which we call God?

What are the springs of action to this absurd brute? What reasons has he for opposing the existence of God? Is it not pride and lust, a corrupt pride of heart, and a furious filthy lust of body?

Is it not that he may live free from all rules of action for his soul and body, that he has no law to command what is right, or forbid what appears wrong?

Is it not that he may act the beast without controul, and live like a devil without a check of conscience, plunge into unclean commerce without blushing, and indulge lewdness without shame, give an unbounded range to his filthy appetites without one keen reflection, and gratify his lustful passions without any painful and pungent remorse?

These are the reasons (if madness and self-murder may be called reasons) why the Atheist denies the existence of a God. This is the noble design, the sublime desire and ultimate end of the wretch called an Atheist; this enemy of mankind, this wolf to civil society, this butcher and murderer of the human race.

IV. *The*

IV. *The desperate Hazards of Atheism for both Worlds.*

[Note, this may be applied, in another point of view, to Deists and Socinians.]

HOW mad is any man to hazard his soul by denying a God at this rate? How daring a soul-hardiness, how desperate a madness for a man to deny the being of his maker, and to exert such a devilish enmity and spite at the life and existence of his God!

What mortal in his senses would be guilty of such unavoidable self-murder? Why should this absurd fellow dash himself to death against the rock of Omnipotence, and curse his soul for ever by denying the true fountain of felicity?

Can any man who doubts of the existence of God, or denies his being, say that he has done all in his power to attain evidence, and be satisfied concerning this vast truth—that he has made the most honest inquiry into the truth or falshood of God's existence?

Can he with strict veracity assure us that he has thought seriously on this grand point? that he has most honestly considered the frame of heaven and earth, and faithfully attended to the production, the preservation, the connection, variety, harmony, and end of the universe; that he has considered his own amazing structure of body and soul; that he has divested himself of all corrupt prejudices—has conversed with the wisest and best men, has hearkened to the most forcible and convincing reasonings, has kept a single eye upon truth, with an honest heart has laid himself open to the light of evidence? that he has been willing that truth should appear in
all

all its beauty, and lead him whithersoever it pleases without opposition; that banishing all pride of heart, and denying all corrupt appetites, and suppressing all filthy and criminal passions, and every selfish and ungenerous principle, he is intent on nothing but the attainment of pure truth?

Where is the man, in all the world, that can stand forth and affirm all this? I challenge him to appear, and affirm, with his hand on his heart, that this is his real temper, and that this has been his practice—and yet he is in the dark concerning God's existence—yet he is in doubt and unsatisfied; that yet he sees more reason to doubt of, or deny, rather than assent to the evidence of the being of a God.

Ah! you vile hypocrites! you rotten hearted Atheists, if God only tries you by this rule, “that you have done all that you can,” you will be speechless, and damned for a fool and a knave; your cursed rascally impudence, and want of honesty, will make you look like the villainous and rascally devil.



V. *The Wisdom and Happiness of owning a God, or the great Reasonableness of true Religion.*

IF Atheism is madness, to own God is true wisdom.—If to deny him be folly the most detestable, then to love and adore him is wisdom, the most excellent and honourable to man.

A firm persuasion of the existence and perfections of God, is sober reason in its best exercise, and
found

found wisdom in its noblest and highest improvement.

It is excellent sense and reason to be well rooted and grounded in a vigorous and lively faith in God's existence.

Ten thousand advantages and pleasures flow from a heart-felt persuasion of God's glorious being, perfections and providence.

How suitable to my powers of understanding and reason, how pleasant to all my noblest passions to be cordially persuaded of the truth of God's existence, and have a constant sense of God's presence on my mind.

To feel the whole weight of Deity through all the powers of the soul, and to have the finest sensations of the vital energy of God working in the very depth of my frame.

To see and adore a God as every where present, and every where active at all times, in all places, in all companies, in all conditions. O! how ravishing and charming it is to a rational and immortal spirit.

It is sound reason and good sense to come to a point, and be immoveably settled in this great, first principle of religion and happiness, and never more need of it than at this time when the worst practical Atheism abounds in all its malignant, and foolish, and insolent abandoned impudence, in every heart and life, in every cottage, village, and town in Britain and Europe.

If I am keenly convinced, and strongly fixed in the feeling sense of God's existence, I shall give him just veneration and devotion; but without such a firm faith in God, I can never ascribe to him that honour; a praise which his perfections demand.

How can I esteem God as the best of beings? how can I fervently desire his presence and blessings, or bear a good-will to his dominion and interest,

terest, or delight in his amiable attributes, if I am in a state of doubt or fluctuation concerning his being.

How is it possible that I should worship God in a right manner, by acknowledging his infinite greatness, goodness, and beauty with veneration and love? How can I act in a manner agreeable to his will, as my eternal law, commanding what is right, and forbidding what is wrong? How can I exert and apply my powers in a free and direct conformity to the rectitude of God, if I am at loss concerning the evidences of his existence?

How can I act with such rational intention as shall please him, and express, in my temper and actions, a beauty and decorum most becoming the rectitude, and dignity, and majesty of God?

How is it possible that any man should make it his main care to please God, and approve himself to him, unless he has a vital lovely sense of God's existence and excellent glory? How can he be impartial in his inquiries into the full extent of God's law, or apply himself to the hearty and resolute practice of duty without any stated reserves and sinful indulgences? or how will a man's heart and life be consistent and harmonious, while his mind is in suspense about God?



VI *The Miseries of Atheism with Regard to the Order and Comfort of our Lives.*

No order of our lives without God.

A Powerful and abiding sense of God, upon the soul, will order, establish, and guide our hearts and life—it will give firmness and stability to the heart, and regularity and beauty to the life—it will

will promote a universal rectitude of mind and manners.

We shall find our hearts to be all disorder and perverseness, our lives irregular, our actions unsteady and without a meaning, unless we believe the Divine existence, and live under a pleasing sense of God's attributes.

How can our spirits be rectified, our lives guarded, our conversation sensible and serious, our lives all beauty, dignity, and decency, unless we have a lively consciousness of God, vigorous perceptions of his immense greatness and goodness.

A powerful sense of God establishes the heart, inspires a grandeur and true elevation of soul, gives a dignity to the understanding, and directs us to the true beauty and fitness of action.

No comfort of our lives without God.

To be well rooted and grounded in the being of God is the first grand spring of comfort, and without this we can have no comfort of our lives.

It is God's presence that gives the settled consolation to our hearts ; without God's existence we can have no relish for our own existence ; God's active, lovely presence gives us self-enjoyment.

We can have no solid joy if we have no firm faith in God ; we shall be destitute of true comfort and hope, always unsettled, and liable to perpetual chagrin and vexation.

Ever perplexed with new difficulties, ruffled by every cross event, distracted in our thoughts, distressed in our consciences, and uneasy with every situation in life.

We shall live without principle, and act without meaning, or end full of fluctuation and doubt ; ever in suspense concerning our methods of conduct ; our
actions

actions will have all the marks of folly and weakness ; we shall be miserable in all our affairs, wild in all our measures, irresolute in all our purposes, tost on the surges of vexation and woe, tormented with new disappointments, alarmed with false fears, subject to the caprice of every vagrant fancy, a slave to our vain humours, a drudge to vicious appetites, and at the mercy of every tyrant and fool we meet. What a horrid state of mind is this !

We shall be proud in prosperity, haughty and insolent on any success in life, imperious and disdainful towards our fellow-creatures in lower life, mean grovelling slaves to our superiors, full of envy and malice towards our equals, utterly unprepared for troubles in life, unfit for any trials, or the least chagrin or insult.

We shall be despairing and hopeless in a season of adversity, fullen and inactive if we are denied our wishes or crossed in our choice ; all the best springs of action will be relaxed and broke ; the strongest motives will have no force on a heart that feels not God's presence, and lives not under a sense of his omniscient eye.

In short, we shall be like a ship without ballast on the stormy ocean—like a mariner that has lost his rudder and his compass in the tempest—like a clock without its proper weights, or a watch that has lost the main spring of all its motions.

Thus Atheism deprives us of all the order and beauty of our hearts and tempers, and destroys eternally all the comforts and pleasures of our life.

VII. *A Sense of God paves the way for our receiving a Divine Revelation.*

A Rational and manly faith in God's existence, with a clear and certain knowledge of his glorious perfections, will excite and enable us to receive, with a just regard, the evidences of the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and teach us a reverence and love to the contents of God's holy law and gospel.

How can we credit God's word while we are in doubt concerning his existence? How is it possible, in the nature of things, that I should love and confide in God's promises, while I doubt whether the promiser has a being or no? How can I tremble at his awful wrath and threatnings, whilst I am uncertain of the being of a God to punish? How can I yield a free subjection to his laws, whilst I call in question the very being of the law-giver, and have no sense of his absolute dominion?

What man in all the world will bow his soul and conscience to the bible, whilst he questions the being of a God that is said to be the author of this book?

Inspiration is the action of God upon a rational soul, raising the understanding to higher degrees of clearness, certainty, elevation and knowledge: but who can believe this action possible, whilst he doubts the existence of the agent?

Inspiration is the infusion of ideas into the mind of man by the wisdom and power of God: but who can believe the possibility and certainty of this infusion, whilst he doubts of the existence of God, the author of it?

The Divine Scriptures can never be treated with distinguished veneration; the doctrines of grace can never be cordially believed and loved; the blessing
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of the gospel can never be ardently fought ; the grand and eternal discoveries cannot be received with that admiration and devotion which they so justly and fully demand, unless I feel God's vital existence in my soul, and feel my obligations to his authority taste the sweet influences of his spirit, and know my dependance on his grace.

What man can believe the prediction of his future events, unless he first is fully convinced of the being of a God of boundless understanding, who can fore-know those events ?

Who can give credit to miracles or operations that imply an Almighty power, till he is persuaded of the existence of such a power in the universe ?

Who can believe that the doctrine is so excellent and good as to be worthy of God, till he knows something of the being and moral character of that God ?

Who can see any evidence for the Divine inspiration of the Scripture drawn from the moral character of the pen-man, before he is convinced of the eternal and immutable difference there is in moral characters, arising from the existence and will of God as the standard of moral excellence ?

Thus you see that a firm and lively apprehension of a God is the foundation of our faith in all Divine revelations.

VIII. *Methods and Means to kill Atheism.*

STUDY God in the works of creation, in the heavens, earth, and seas.

Every day walk out in the fields, lift up your eyes to the sun, the moon, the stars, and the vast expanse ; consider the air, the winds, the rain, the

thunders, lightnings, the frost, the snow, and the rattling hail.

View the globe of the earth and seas, and consider the vast variety and beauty of the birds, the beasts, the fishes, the reptiles, and the innumerable tribes of insects.

Mark the small beginnings of all plants, from the humble shrub to the strong oak and the lofty cedar.

Observe the minute original of all fishes, from the minny to that floating mountain the whale.

Truths relating to the Deity. The Religion of Nature delineated.

I. **T**HE one Supreme and perfect Being, upon whom the existence of all other beings and their powers originally depend, is that being, whom I mean by the word God.

There are other truths still remaining in relation to the Deity, which we may know, and which are necessary to be known by us, if we would endeavour to demean ourselves towards him according to truth and what he is; and they are such, as not only tend to rectify our opinions concerning his nature and attributes, but also may serve, at the same time, as further proofs of his existence, and an amplification of some things touched perhaps too lightly. As,

II. God cannot be corporeal; or, there can be no corporeity in God. There are many things in matter utterly inconsistent with the nature of such a being, as it has been demonstrated God must be.

Matter exists in parts, every one of which, by the term, is imperfect: but in a being absolutely perfect, there can be nothing that is imperfect.

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These parts, though they are many times kept closely united by some occult influence, are in truth so many distinct bodies, which may, at least in our imagination, be disjoined or placed otherwise : nor can we have any idea of matter which does not imply a natural discerpibility and susceptibility of various shapes and modifications, *i. e.* mutability seems to be essential to it. But God, existing in a manner that is perfect, exists in a manner that must be uniform, always one and the same, and in nature unchangeable.

Matter is incapable of acting, passive only, and stupid ; which are defects that can never be ascribed to him who is the first cause or prime agent, the supreme intellect, and altogether perfect.

Then, if he is corporeal, wherever there is a vacuum, he must be excluded, and so becomes a being bounded, finite, and, as it were, full of chafins.

Lastly, there is no matter or body which may not be supposed not to be ; whereas the idea of God, or that being upon whom all others depend, involves in it existence.

III. Neither infinite space, nor infinite duration, nor matter infinitely extended, or eternally existing, nor any, nor all of these taken together, can be God. For,

Space taken separately from the things which possess and fill it, is but an empty scene or vacuum : and to say, that infinite space is God, or that God is infinite space, is to say that he is an infinite vacuum ; than which nothing can be more absurd or blasphemous. How can space, which is but a vast void, rather the negation of all things, than positively any thing, a kind of diffused nothing ; how can this, I say, be the first cause, &c. or indeed any cause ? What attributes beside penetrability and extension, what excellencies, what perfections is it capable of ?

As infinite space cannot be God, though he be excluded from no place or space ; so though he is eternal, yet eternity, or infinite duration itself is not God. For duration, abstracted from all durables, is nothing actually existing by itself : it is the duration of a being, not a being.

Infinite space and duration, taken together, cannot be God ; because an interminable space of infinite duration is still nothing but eternal space ; and that is, at most, but an eternal vacuum.

Since it has been already proved, that corporeity is inconsistent with Divine perfection, the matter should be infinitely extended, or there should be an infinite quantity of it ; yet still, wherever it is, it carries this inconsistency along with it.

If to matter be added infinite duration, neither does this alter the nature of it. This only supposes it to be eternally what it is, *i. e.* eternally incapable of Divine perfection.

And if to it you add the ideas of both infinite extension, (or space) and duration too, yet still, so long as matter is matter, it must always, and every where be incapable of divinity.

Lastly, not the universe, or sum total of finite beings, can be God : For if it is, then every thing is divine, every thing God, or of God, and so all things together must make but one being. But the contrary to this we see, there being evidently many beings distinct, and separable one from another, and independent each of other. Nay, this distinction and separation of existence, beside what we see without us, we may even feel within ourselves. We are severally conscious to ourselves of the individuation and distinction of our own minds from all other ; nor is there any thing of which we can be more certain. Were we all the same being, and had one mind, as in that case we must have, thoughts could not be private, or the peculiar thoughts of
any

any one person; but they must be common acts of the whole mind, and there could be but one conscience common to us all. Beside, if all things conjunctly are God, or the perfect being, (I dread the mention of such things, though it be in order to refute them) how comes this remarkable instance of imperfection, among many others, to cleave to us, that we should not know even ourselves, and what we are? In short, no collection of beings can be one being, and therefore not God; and the universe itself is but a collection of distinct beings.

IV. It is so far from being true that God is corporeal, that there could be no such thing as either matter or motion, if there was not some superior being upon whom they depended: Or, God is such a being, that without him there could be neither matter nor motion. This must be true of matter, because it has been proved already, that there can be but one independent being; that he is incorporeal; and that the existence of all other things must depend upon him. But the same thing may be proved otherwise. If matter (I mean the existence of it) does not depend upon something above it, it must be an independent being; and if an independent being, a necessary being; and then there could be no such thing as a vacuum; but all bodies must be perfectly solid; and, more than that, the whole world could be but one such body, five times as firm as brass, and incapable of all motion. For that being which exists necessarily, does necessarily exist: that is, it cannot not exist. But in a vacuum matter does not exist.

Moreover, if matter be an independent, necessary being, and exists of itself, this must be true of every particle of it; and if so, there could not only be no vacuum, but every particle must be every where; for it could not be limited to occupy only a

place of such certain dimensions by its own nature, since this confinement of existence, within certain bounds, implies non-existence in other places beyond those bounds, and is equal to a negation of existence; and when existence is essential to any being, a negation of existence cannot be so: nor, in the next place, could its existence be limited by any thing else, because it is supposed to have its existence only of itself; *i. e.* to have a principle of existence in itself, or to have an existence that is not dependent upon, or obnoxious to any other.

And I may add still, if matter be self-existent, I do not see not only how it comes to be restrained to a place of some certain capacity, but also how it comes to be limited in other respects, or why it should not exist in a manner that is in all respects perfect. So that thus it appears, matter must derive its existence from some other being, who causes it to be just what it is; and the being who can do this, must be God.

It is to no purpose to object here, that one cannot conceive how the existence of matter can be derived from another being; for God being above our conceptions, the manner in which he operates, and in which things depend upon him, must also be unconceivable. Reason discovers that this visible world must owe its existence to some invisible Almighty being; *i. e.* it discovers this to be fact, and we must not deny facts because we know not how they are effected. It is far from being new, that our faculties should disclose to us the existence of things, and then drop us in our inquiry how they are. Thus much for matter.

As for motion, without a first cause, such as has been described, there could be none; and much less such motions as we see in the world. This may be immediately deduced from the foregoing paragraphs,
for

for if matter itself could not be without such a cause, it is certain motion, which is an affection of matter, could never be.

But further, there could be no motion, unless either there be in matter itself a power of beginning it, or it is communicated from body to body in an infinite succession, or in a circle, and so has no beginning; or else is produced by some incorporeal being or beings. Now as hardy as men are in advancing opinions that favour their vices, though never so repugnant to reason, I can hardly believe any one will assert, that a parcel of mere matter, (let it be great or small, of any figure whatsoever, &c.) left altogether to itself, could ever of itself begin to move. If there is any such bold assertor, let him fix his eyes upon some lump of matter, *ex. gr.* a stone, piece of timber, or a clod, (cleared of all animals) and peruse it well, then ask himself seriously, whether it is possible for him in earnest to believe that that stone, log, or clod, though nothing corporeal or incorporeal should excite or meddle with it, might some time or other of itself begin to creep. However, to be short, a power of beginning motion is not in the idea of matter, it is passive, as we see, to the impressions of motion, and susceptible of it, but cannot produce it. On the contrary, it will always persist uniformly in its present state, either of rest or motion, if nothing stirs, diverts, accelerates, or stops it. Nor is there any thing in all physics better settled than that which is called *vis inertiae*, or the inertia of matter.

The propagation of motion from body to body, without any first mover, or immaterial cause of motion has been proved impossible.

The supposition of a perpetual motion, in a circle, is begging the question. For if *A* moves *B*, *B* moves *C*, and so on to *Z*, and then *Z* moves *A*; this is the same as to say, that *A* moves *A*, by the intervention

intervention of *B, C, D,—Z*; that is, *A*, moves itself, or can begin motion.

It remains then, that all corporeal motions come originally from some mover incorporeal; which must be either that Supreme and self-existing spirit himself, who is God, or such as will put us into the way how to find that there is such a being.

If we consider ourselves, and the voluntary motions begun by us, we may there see the thing exemplified. We move our bodies, or some members of them, and by these move other things, as they again do others, and know these motions to spring from the operations of our mind; but then we know also, that we have not an independent power of creating motion, if we had, it could not be so limited as our loco-motive faculties are, nor confined to small quantities, and certain circumstances only; we should have had it from eternity, nor could we ever be deprived of it; so that we are necessitated to look up and acknowledge some higher being, who is able not only to produce motion, but to impart a faculty of producing it.

And if the petty motions of us mortals afford arguments for the being of a God, much more may those greater motions we see in the world, and the phænomena attending them: I mean the motions of the planets and heavenly bodies; for these must be put into motion, either by one common mighty mover acting upon them immediately, or by causes and laws of his appointment, or by their respective movers, who, for reasons to which you can by this time be no stranger, must depend upon some superior, that furnished them with the power of doing this. And granting it to be done either of these ways, we can be at no great distance from a demonstration of the existence of a Deity.

It may perhaps be said, that though matter has not the power of moving itself, yet it hath an attractive

tractive force, by which it can move other parts of matter; so that all matter equally moves and is moved. But, allowing those things which are now usually ascribed to attraction, we shall still be necessitated to own some superior being, whose influence mixes itself with matter, and operates upon it, or at least who, some way or other, imparts this force. For attraction, according to the true sense of the word, supposes one body to act upon another at a distance, or where it is not; but nothing can be an agent where it is not at all. Matter can act only by contact, impelling contiguous bodies, when it is put into motion by something else, or resisting those which strike against it when it is at rest. And this it does as matter, *i. e.* by being impenetrable to other matter; but attraction is not of the nature or idea of matter: so that what is called attraction, is so called only because the same things happen as if the parts of matter did mutually attract: but in truth this can only be an effect of something, which acts upon, or by matter, according to a certain law. The parts of matter seen not only to gravitate towards each other, but many of them to fly each other. Now these two contrary motions, and seeming qualities, cannot both proceed from matter quæ matter; cannot both be of the nature of it, and therefore they must be owing to some external cause, or to some other being, which excites in them this, as it were, love and discord.

Beside, as to the revolution of a planet about the sun, mere gravitation is not sufficient to produce that effect; it must be compounded with a motion of projection to keep the planet from falling directly into the sun, and bring it about. And from what hand, I desire to know, comes this other motion (or direction)? who impressed it?

What a vast field for contemplation is here opened! Such regions of matter about us, in which
there

there is not the least particle that does not carry with it an argument of God's existence; not the least stick, or straw, or other trifle that falls to the ground, but shews it; not the slightest motion produced, the least whisper of the air but tells it.

V. The frame and constitution of the world, the astonishing magnificence of it, the various phenomena and kinds of beings, the uniformity observed in the productions of things, the uses and ends for which they serve, &c. do all shew that there is some Almighty designer, an infinite wisdom and power at the top of all these things, such marks there are of both, or, God is that being, without whom such a frame or constitution of the world, such a magnificence in it, &c. could not be. In order to prove to any one the grandness of this fabric of the world, one needs only to bid him consider the sun, with that insupportable glory and lustre that surrounds it: to demonstrate the vast distance, magnitude, and heat of it: to represent to him the chorus of planets moving periodically, by uniform laws, in their several orbits about it; affording a regular variety of aspects; guarded, some of them by secondary planets, and, as it were, emulating the state of the sun; and probably all possessed by proper inhabitants: to remind him of those surprising visits the comets make us; the large trains, or uncommon splendour, which attends them; the far country they come from, and the curiosity and horror they excite not only among us, but in the inhabitants of other planets, who also may be up to see the entry and progress of these ministers of fate: to direct his eye and contemplation, through those azure fields and vast regions above him, up to the fixt stars, that radiant numberless host of heaven, and to make him understand how unlikely a thing it is that they should be placed there only to adorn and bespangle a canopy over our heads, (though that
would

would be a great piece of magnificence too) and much less to supply the places of so many glow-worms, by affording a feeble light to our earth, or even to all our fellow-planets: to convince him, that they are rather so many other suns, with their several regions and sets of planets about them: to shew him, by the help of glasses, still more and more of these fixt lights, and to beget in him an apprehension of their unaccountable numbers, and of those immense spaces that lie retired beyond our utmost reach and even imagination: I say, one needs but do this, and explain to him such things as are now known almost to every body, and by it to shew that if the world be not infinite, it is *infinito similis*, and therefore sure a magnificent structure, and the work of an infinite architect. But if we could take a view of all the particulars contained within that astonishing compass, which we have thus hastily run over, how would wonders multiply upon us? Every corner, every part of the world is as it were made up of other worlds. If we look upon this our seat, (I mean this earth) what scope is here for admiration! The great variety of mountains, hills, vallies, plains, rivers, seas, trees, plants! The many tribes of different animals with which it is stocked! The multifarious inventions and works of one of these, that is, of us men, &c. and yet when all these (heaven and earth) are surveyed as nicely as they can be by the help of our unassisted senses, and even of telescopial glasses, by the assistance of good microscopes, in very small parts of matter as many new wonders may perhaps be discovered as those already observed; new kingdoms of animals, new architecture and curiosity of work; so that as before, our senses, and even conception-fainted in those vast journies we were obliged to take in considering the expanse of the universe, so here again they fail us in our researches into the principles and constituent parts

parts of it. Both the beginnings and the ends of things, the least and the greatest, all conspire to baffle us ; and which way ever we prosecute our inquiries, we still fall in with fresh subjects of amazement, and fresh reasons to believe that there are indefinitely still more and more behind, that will for ever escape our eagerest pursuits and deepest penetration.

This mighty building is not only thus grand, and the appearances stupendous in it, but the manner in which things are effected is commonly unintelligible, and their causes too profound for us. There are indeed many things in nature which we know, and of some of which we seem to know the causes : but, alas ! how few are these with respect to the whole sum ? And the causes which we assign, what are they ? commonly such as can only be expressed in general terms ; whilst the bottoms of things remain unfathomable ; such, as have been collected from experience, but could scarcely be known before-hand, by any arguments *a priori*, to be capable of rendering such effects ; and yet till causes are known after that manner, they are not thoroughly understood ; such, as seem disproportionate and too little, and are so insufficient and unsatisfactory, that one cannot but be inclined to think that something immaterial and invisible must be immediately concerned. In short, we know many times that such a thing will have such an effect, or perhaps that such an effect is produced by such a cause ; but the manner how we know not, or but grossly ; and if such an hypothesis be true, it is impossible for us to come at the true principles of things, or to see into the œconomy of the finest parts of nature, and workings of the first springs. The causes that appear to us, are but effects of other causes : the vessels, of which the bodies of plants and animals consist, are made up of other smaller vessels : The
subtilest

subtilest parts of matter, which we have any notion of, (as animal spirits, or particles of light) have their parts, and may, for ought we know, be compound bodies; and as to the substances themselves of all things, and their internal constitution, they are hid from our eyes. Our philosophy dwells in the surface of nature.

However in the next place, we ourselves cannot but be witnesses that there are stated methods, as so many set forms of proceeding, which things punctually and religiously kept to. The same causes, circumstanced in the same manner, have always the same success: All the species of animals, among us, are made according to one general idea; and so are those of plants also, and even minerals: no new ones are brought forth or arisen any where; and the old are preserved and continued by the old ways.

Lastly, it appears, I think plainly enough in the parts and model of the world, that there is a contrivance and a respect to certain reasons and ends. How the sun is posited near the middle of our system for the more convenient dispensing of his benign influences to the planets moving about him; how the plain of the earth's æquator intersects that of her orbit, and makes a proper angle with it, in order to diversify the year, and create a useful variety of seasons, and many other things of the kind, though a thousand times repeated, will always be pleasing meditations to good men and true scholars. Who can observe the vapours to ascend, especially from the sea, meet above in clouds, and fall again after condensation, and not understand this to be a kind of distillation, in order to clear the water of its grosser salts, and then by rains and dews to supply the fountains and rivers with fresh and wholesome liquors; to nourish the vegetables below by showers, which descend in drops as from a watering-pot upon a garden,

a garden, &c ? Who can view the structure of a plant or animal, the indefinite number of their fibres and fine vessels; the formation of larger vessels, and the several numbers out of them, and the apt disposition of all these, the way laid out for the reception and distribution of nutriment; the effect this nutriment has in extending the vessels, bringing the vegetable or animal to its full growth and expansion; continuing the motion of the several fluids, repairing the decays of the body, and preserving life. Who can take notice of the several faculties of animals, their arts of saving and providing for themselves, or the ways in which they are provided for; the uses of plants to animals, and of some animals to others, particularly to mankind; the care taken that the several species should be propagated out of their proper seeds; (without confusion) the strong inclinations implanted in animals for that purpose, their love of their young, and the like: I say, who can do this, and not see a design, in such regular pieces, so nicely wrought, and so preserved? If there be but one animal, and in that case it could not be doubted but that his eyes were made that he might see with them, his ears that he might hear with them, and so on, through at least the most considerable parts of him; if it much less be doubted, when the same things are repeated in the individuals of all the tribes of animals; if the like observations may be made with respect to vegetables, and other things; and if all these kinds of things, and therefore much more their particulars, upon and in the earth, waters, air, are unconceivably numerous, (as most evidently they are) one cannot but be convinced from that, which is so very obvious to every understanding, and plainly runs through the nobler parts of the visible world, but not only they, but other things, even those that seem to be less noble, have their ends too, though not so well understood.

And

And now since we cannot suppose the parts of matter to have contrived this wonderful form of a world among themselves, and then by agreement to have taken their respective posts, and pursued constant ends by certain methods and measures concerted, (because these are acts of which they are not capable) there must be some other being, whose wisdom and power are equal to such a mighty work, as is the structure and preservation of the world ; there must be some Almighty mind, who models and adorns it, lays the causes of things so deep, prescribes them such uniform and steady laws, destines and adapts them to certain purposes, and makes one thing to fit and answer to another.

That such a beautiful scheme, such a just and geometrical arrangement of things, composed of innumerable parts, and placed as the offices, and uses, and wants of the several beings require, through such an immense extent, should be the effect of chance only, is a conceit so prodigiously absurd, that certainly no one can espouse it heartily who understands the meaning of that word. Chance seems to be only a term, by which we express our ignorance of the cause of any thing : For when we say any thing comes by chance, we do not mean that it had no other cause, but only that we do not know the true cause which produced it, or interposed in such a manner as to make that fall out which was not expected. Nor can I think, that any body has such an idea of chance, as to make it an agent, or really existing, and acting cause of any thing, and much less sure of all things. Whatever events or effects there are, they must proceed from some agent or cause, which is either free or not free (that is, necessary). If it be free it wills what it produces ; and therefore that which is produced, is produced with design, not by chance. If it acts necessarily, the event must necessarily be, and therefore it is not

by accident ; for that which is by accident, or chance only, might not have been, or it is an accident only, that it is. There can be therefore no such cause or chance. And to omit a great deal that might yet be said, matter is indefinitely divisible, and the first particles, (or atoms) of which it consists, must be small beyond all our apprehension ; and the chances, that must all hit to produce one individual of any species of material beings, (if only chance was concerned) must consequently be indefinitely many : and if space be also indefinitely extended, and the number of those individuals (not to say of species themselves) which lie dispersed in it indefinite, the chances required to the production of them all, or of the universe, will be the rectangle of one indefinite quantity drawn into another. We may well call them infinite. And then to say, that any thing cannot happen unless infinite chances coincide, is the same as to say, there are infinite chances against the happening of it, or odds that it will not happen : and this again is the same as to say, it is impossible to happen ; since if there be a possibility that it may happen, the hazard is not infinite. The world therefore cannot be the child of chance. He must be little acquainted with the works of nature, who is not sensible how delicate and fine they are ; and the finer they are, the grosser were those of Epicurus.

If it should be objected, that many things seem to be useless, many births are monstrous, or the like, such answers as these may be made. The uses of some things are known to some men, and not to others ; the uses of some are known now that were not known to any body formerly ; the uses of many may be discovered hereafter, and those of some other things may for ever remain unknown to all men, and yet be in nature, as much as those discovered were before their discovery, or are now in respect

respect of them who know them not. Things have not therefore no uses, because they are concealed from us; nor is nature irregular, or without method, because there are some seeming deviations from the common rule. These are generally the effects of that influence which free agents and various circumstances have upon natural productions, which may be deformed, or hurt by external impressions, heterogeneous matter introduced, or disagreeable and unnatural motions excited; and if the case could be truly put, it would no doubt appear, that nature proceeds as regularly (or the laws of nature have as regular an effect) when a monster is produced, as when the usual issue in common cases. Under these circumstances the monster is the genuine issue: that is, in the same circumstances there would always be the same kind of production: And therefore if things are now and then mis-shaped, this infers no unsteadiness or mistake in nature. Beside, the magnificence of the world admits of some perturbations, not to say, requires some variety. The question is, Could all those things, which we do know to have uses and ends, and to the production of which such wonderful contrivance, and the combinations of so many things are required, be produced, and method and regularity be preserved so far as it is, if nothing but blind chance presided over all? Are not the innumerable instances of things, which are undeniably made with reference to certain ends, and of those which are propagated and repeated by the same constant methods, enough to convince us that there are ends proposed, and rules observed, even where we do not see them? And lastly, if we should descend to particulars, what are those seemingly useless or monstrous productions in respect of the rest, that plainly declare the ends for which they were intended, and that come into the world by the usual ways, with the

usual perfections of their several kinds? If the comparison could be made, I verily believe these would be found to be almost infinituple of the other ; which ought therefore to be reputed as nothing.

They who content themselves with words, may ascribe the formation of the world to fate or nature, as well as to chance, or better : And yet fate, in the first place, is nothing but a series of events, considered as necessarily following in some certain order ; or, of which it has always been true, that they would be in their determinate times and places. It is called indeed a series of causes, but then they are such causes as are also effects, all of them, if there is no first cause, and may be taken for such. So that in this description is nothing like such a cause, as is capable of giving this form to the world. A series of events is the same with events happening *seriatim* ; which words declare nothing concerning the cause of that concatenation of events, or why it is. Time, place, manner, necessity are but circumstances of things that come to pass ; not causes of their existence, or of their being as they are : on the contrary, some external and superior cause must be supposed to put the series in motion, to project the order, to connect the causes and effects, and to impose the necessity.

Then for nature. 1. If it be used for the intrinsic manner of existing ; that constitution, make, or disposition with which any thing is produced or born, and from which result those properties, powers, inclinations, passions, qualities, and manners, which are called natural, (and sometimes nature) in opposition to such as are acquired, adventitious, or forced (which use is common) : then to say, that nature formed any thing, or gave it its manner of existence, is to say that it formed itself, or that the effect is the efficient. Beside, how can manner (manner of existing) be the cause of existing,

ing, or properly do any thing. An agent is an acting being, some substance, not a manner of being. 2. If it be used in that other sense, by which it stands for the ideas of things, what they are in themselves, and what in their circumstances, causes, consequences, respects, or, in short, that which determines them to be of this or that kind, (as when we say, the nature of justice requires this or that, *i. e.* the idea of justice requires or supposes it: A crime is of such a nature, that is, bears such a respect to the law, and is attended with such circumstances, or the like) then none of these senses can do an Atheist any service. 3. If it be used for the world, (as the laws of nature may be understood to be the laws of the world, by which it is governed, and the phenomena in it produced; after the same manner of speaking as when we say, the laws of England, France, &c.) then it stands for that very thing, the former and architect of which is the object of our inquiry, and therefore cannot be that architect itself. Under this sense may be comprehended that, when it denotes reality of existence, as when it is said that such a thing is not in nature, (not to be found in the world). 4. If it signifies the forementioned laws themselves, or that course, in which things by virtue of these laws proceed, (as when the effects of these laws are stiled the works of nature) then laws suppose some legislator, and are posterior to that of which they are the laws. There can be no laws of any nation, till the people are of which that nation consists. 5. If it be used after the same manner as the word habit frequently is, to which many things are ascribed, (just as they are to nature) though it be nothing existing distinct from the habits which particular men or beings contract, then nature is a kind of abstract notion, which can do nothing. Perhaps nature may be put for natures, all natures, after the manner of a collective

noun ; or it may be mentioned as an agent, only as we personify virtues and attributes, either for variety, or the shorter and more convenient expressing of things. Lastly, if it denotes the author of nature, or God, (the effect seeming, though by a hard metonymy in this case, to be put for the efficient) then to him it is that I ascribe the formation of the world, &c. to all which I must subjoin, that there is an unaccountable liberty taken in the use of this word ; and that frequently it is used merely as a word, and nothing more, they who use it not knowing themselves what they mean by it : However, in no sense can it supercede the being of a Deity.

VI. Life, sense, cogitation, and the faculties of our own mind shew the existence of some Superior Being, from whom they are derived ; or, God is that being, without whom neither could these be, any more than the things before-mentioned. That they cannot flow from the nature of any matter about us as matter, or from any modification, size, or motion of it, if it be not already apparent, may perhaps be proved more fully afterwards, and that our souls themselves are not self-existent, nor hold their faculties independently of all other beings ; therefore we must necessarily be indebted for what we have of this kind to some great benefactor, who is the fountain of them : for since we are conscious that we have them, and yet have them not of ourselves, we must have them from some other.

A man has little reason, God knows, to fancy the suppositum of his life, sense, and cogitative faculties to be an independent being, when he considers how transitory and uncertain, at best, his life and all his enjoyments are, what he is, whence he came, and whither he is going. The mind acts not, or in the most imperceptible manner in animalcula, or the seminal state of man ; only as a principle of vegetation
in

in the state of an embryo, and as a sensitive soul in the state of infancy, at least for some time, in which we are rather below, than above, many other animals. By degrees indeed, with age and exercise, and proper opportunities, it seems to open itself, find its own talents, and ripen into a rational being; but then it reasons not without labour, and is forced to take many tedious steps in the pursuit of truth; finds all its powers subject to great eclipses and diminutions in the time of sleep, indisposition, sickness, &c. and at best reaching but a few objects in respect of all, that are in the immensity of the universe, and, lastly, is obnoxious to many painful sensations and reflections. Had the soul of man the principle of its own existence and faculties within itself, clear of all dependence, it could not be liable to all these limitations and defects, to all these alterations and removes from one state to another; it must certainly be constant to itself, and persist in an uniform manner of being.



Of the Law of Nature, the Explication and Proof of it.

SECTION I.

THE law of nature, as it is the fundamental law, upon which all other laws, whether divine or human, are built, and the great foundation of moral truths, challenges a distinct consideration. This term is by some used in so comprehensive a sense, as to signify those stated orders by which the heavenly bodies, and all the parts of the material world, are governed in their several motions and

operations: But as there is need of a figure to stretch the expression in this latitude, so upon supposition the established course of things might be called a law; it is rather a law to the first mover, than to those things which are purely passive in their obedience to Almighty power. Jus naturale, saith * Ulpian, est quod natura a omnia animalia docuit, &c. "Natural law is that which nature hath taught all animals. This law is not peculiar to human kind, but common to all living creatures, to the beasts of the field, the fishes of the sea, and the birds of the air. Hence is the conjunction of the sexes, which we call matrimony; hence the birth and education of children, for we see other animals, even the wildest of them, to have the knowledge of this law." These things are indeed common to mankind with other creatures, being alike necessary for the conservation of every species; but in them they are mere instincts; in man under the regulation of reason: Nor even in human kind are these things themselves so properly the matter of law, being natural appetites and passions, as the manner of gratifying them, and the submitting them at all times to the empire of reason: And if there are in beasts other things which have a resemblance of human virtues, they are but *μιμηματα της ανθρωπινης ζωης*, imitators of human life, as † Aristotle calls them; something like gratitude, and justice, and charity, we see in them; but in them they are not virtues, but as mere instincts as those before mentioned ‡. Cicero therefore says well; Nulla re longius absumus a natura

* Digest. 1. 1. 1. See also Selden de Jure Naturæ Gent. secund. Hebr. lib. 1. cap. iv, v. Grot. de Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. 1. cap. i. This definition, saith Bishop Taylor, is also given by Aquinas, and many lawyers after Justinian, and almost all the divines following Aquinas.

† Histori Animal.

‡ The annotator on Puffendorf. de Jure, &c. lib. 2. cap. iii. tells us, that in the fifteenth century the Officials of Lyons, and other places

a natura ferarum, &c. * “ There is nothing in which we are more raised above the nature of beasts, to whom we often ascribe courage, as to horses and lions ; but never justice, equity, or goodness, for they are destitute both of reason and speech.” It therefore follows, that of all the visible creation man alone is subject to the law of nature.

——— *Venerabile soli*
Sortiti ingenium, divinorumque capaces.

This natural piety did first refine
Our wit, and rais'd our thoughts to things di-
vine.

SECTION II.

Before we advance any further, it may be of use to distinguish between Jus Naturæ and Lex Naturæ, and between the primary and the secondary law of nature. By Jus Naturæ, or the right of nature, some understand an unbounded licence of action and of enjoyment, prior to the law of nature, which I shall find a more proper place to expose, when I have proceeded further in this subject. I would however observe here, that § Hobbes's definition of right runs thus: *Juris nomine significatur libertas quam quisque habet facultatibus naturalibus secundum rectam rationem utendi.* “ By right is meant the liberty which every one has to use his natural faculties according to right reason.” If therefore there

places in France, gave sentence more than once against the beasts that had done mischief in the country. They had sometimes the cause of the inhabitants and beasts pleaded in form by advocates, who urged the reason of both parties before they proceeded to pronounce sentence.

* De Officiis, lib. 1. cap. xvii.

§ De Cive, cap. 1. sect. vii.

be natural rights, there must, in pursuance of this definition of right, be natural law. For either it is possible for men in a state of nature to do what they have no right to do, or, which is the same, to use their natural faculties otherwise than right reason directs, or it is not possible. If this be not possible, to what purpose is there any restriction added on the use of our natural faculties, which it seems if we would abuse we cannot? If the thing be possible, that men in a state of nature may use their natural faculties otherwise than reason directs, then it may be supposed to be fact; and as often as it is so, there will be a fault or offence committed; and every offence is against some law. All that can be replied is, that whoever employs his faculties in doing actions conducive to self-preservation, uses them according to right reason; and that in a state of nature every man must judge for himself what is necessary to this end. Allowing this, yet a person may be mistaken, and that faultily, in his judgement concerning this matter; in which case his cannot be said to be right reason: or he may do things detrimental to others; not for that he reckons them necessary to his own preservation, but to gratify an inordinate appetite. And acting thus, is it not plain that he acts without right, and therefore against law? But to return; by the right of nature, I intend, with many others, a right cotemporary with the law of nature, and not only favoured, but in part introduced by it. This right of nature may be considered in a state of nature, and then it implies a permission of doing many things which are become unlawful since human government was instituted; as recovering one's right by force, punishing an injury at discretion, and the like: Or this right of nature may be considered in society, and then it signifies such natural privileges as remain after all the limitations of human laws, and of which
a man

a man can never divest himself, nor be divested by others; as a right to liberty, to self-defence, and the like.

SECTION III.

The law of nature not only warrants a thing, but requires it. This is either primary or secondary. The law of nature in a secondary, and less proper sense, extends to matters of mere decency, and these of the lower kind, which I add, because virtue itself is the highest decency *. *Per abusum ea que ratio honesta, aut oppositis meliora esse indicat, et se non debita; solent dici juris naturalis.* "There are many things consentaneous to order and decorum, and better than their contraries, which are not strictly necessary." Thus says † Dr. Whitby, "it is agreeable to the intention of nature, that the night should be devoted to sleep. "that the mother should suckle her child:" and in the same sense the Doctor, after Grotius, apprehends those words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 13, 14. to have been meant. "Does not even nature itself teach you, that if a man have long hair it is a shame unto him, but if a woman have long hair it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering." This may be called the law of decency; but it is of the primary law of nature, not of this, that I am treating.

* Grotii de Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. 1. cap. 1. sect. 10.

† Ethic. lib. 1. cap. vi. sect. 10.

SECTION IV.

This I choose to define after the following manner. The law of nature is the will of God relating to human actions, grounded in the moral differences of things; and because discoverable by natural light, obligatory upon all mankind. It is thus defined by * Cicero, *Lex est ratio summa in sita in natura, quæ jubet ea quæ facienda sunt, prohibetque contraria.* Of its appellation there may be this account given. 1. It is called the law of nature, because of the manner of its promulgation, which is by natural reason. 2. Because of its source or foundation, this law resulting from the respective natures of beings and things; of beings, as God and men; and of things or actions, as intrinsically good or evil, and having different physical effects. 3. Because it is the law of God. Nature is but a † fictitious person, and all that is said of the wisdom of her designs and operations, of her power, or of her laws, is to be ascribed to him who is the author of nature. *Natura naturans*, in the barbarous style of the schools, the God from whom the essences and the existences of all things are derived. “ The law, or religion
“ of nature, is so called, says the judicious ‡ Bishop
“ Conybeare, either because it is founded in the
“ reason and nature of beings, or else because it is
“ discovered to us in the use and exercise of those
“ faculties which we enjoy. The religion of na-
“ ture, as it is considered in these different views,
“ will import quite different things. In the former

* Cicero de Legibus, lib. 1.

† The Stoics often made use of the word nature as another name for God. *Quid enim est aliud natura quam Deus et divina ratio, toti mundo et partibus ejus inserta.* Senec. de Beneficiis, lib. 4. cap. vii.

‡ Defense of Revealed Religion, page 11, &c.

“ it signifies a perfect collection of all those moral
 “ doctrines and precepts which have a foundation
 “ in the nature and reason of things ; but in the
 “ latter it is such a collection as may be discovered
 “ by us in the exercise of our proper faculties, ac-
 “ cording to the means and opportunities we en-
 “ joy.”

SECTION V.

The demonstration of the law of nature hath been attempted by several learned men, who commonly urge the consent of the more civilized nations, as a good argument of this law. *Omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est*, says * Cicero. “ As to any point, the agreement of all nations in it, is to be esteemed a law of nature.” This I acknowledge to be a large step towards the proof of a natural law, but will not advance us to demonstration ; because notwithstanding their agreement in their practice of some things for their general usefulness and evident necessity, they might not be introduced by the authority of a supreme legislator, obliging them to the practice ; which yet must be made appear, before the proof, from universal consent, will be compleat. Others, for the proof of the law of nature, have had recourse to innate ideas, or practical principles, impressed on the soul of man by its Creator. This is not proving, but begging the thing in question ; and as a good † author says truly, “ should we admit the “ innate notions, (understanding it in the proper “ sense) it would make way for men of little reason, and a great deal of leisure, under this pre-

* *Tusculan. Quæst. lib. i. cap. xv.*

† *Titii in Puffendorf. Observat. lxxxiv.*

“ tence,

“ tence, to vent the dreams of a sickly mind for
 “ the dictates of nature.”

S E C T I O N VI.

In the entrance to my argument, I shall lay it down as a postulatam, that there is a God, a supreme and most perfect being, and the fountain of being and perfection to the universe ; * for the invisible things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made. This premised, I shall, 1. endeavour the proof of a law of nature *à priori*, from the consideration both of the divine and human nature ; which two beheld in one view, and in the relation they bear to each other, will supply us with demonstrative evidence of the truth. The nature of man is such, that he is capable of moral government, having both reason and liberty of action ; and it is also most agreeable to his nature, as a created dependent being, that he should be so governed : And God is infinitely wise to know what is most fit and proper to be done, and to prescribe a law which shall exactly suit the nature and necessities of mankind ; he has authority to constitute such laws as he shall think best ; he is omniscient to know when his laws are observed or broken ; just and good to approve or resent the behaviour of his creatures, and almighty to reward or punish. This argument receives further confirmation from hence, that God actually presides over the natural world, and by his wise providence maintains an admirable order and regularity in its several motions : And can it be thought that God is negligent or regardless of the moral world, and has appointed it no bounds or measures ? That when

* Rom. i. xx.

there is so universal a harmony in the operations of inanimate beings, nothing like it is expected in the actions of reasonable agents by that God who hath made them capable of acting wisely as well as freely. By the consent among the parts of the corporeal system, and their mutual subserviency to one end, even the benefit of the universe, it may be seen that God is a lover of order ; and certainly order is not less necessary, or less beautiful among intelligent beings. It cannot be supposed that inferior things should be taken care of, and the most excellent abandoned by the Creator.

SECTION VII.

2. I shall try whether the law of nature may not be demonstrated by an argument partly *à priori*, and partly *à posteriori*, and sum up the force of the demonstration in these two general propositions. 1st, There is a natural and essential difference between virtue and vice, and those several actions and dispositions which are denoted by these two opposite terms. 2. Natural reason discovers it to be the will of God in this case, that every man should look upon this difference in the nature of things and actions as a law or rule, which he is always religiously to observe, under pain of his Maker's displeasure.

SECTION VIII.

There is a natural and essential difference between virtue and vice, and those several actions and dispositions which are denoted by these two opposite terms. For,

1. Upon

1. Upon a survey of * human nature it will appear that some actions are universally conformable thereto, and others disconformable. Man is φιλαυτος, a lover of himself; (I take not the word in the ill sense that is commonly affixed to it, in which it denotes the excess of a natural passion; but as it signifies a desire of uncorrupted nature of its own preservation, happiness, and perfection) no man can be indifferent to his own welfare, nor to what appears to promote or hinder it. Again, man is Ζων λογικον, a reasonable being, and his reason, as it makes him capable of receiving law from his Maker, so of giving law to his appetites and passions. Appetite cannot force a man to act contrary to his reason; but with the assistance of his reason a man may over-rule and deny his appetite. Appetite can only judge of the present pleasure of an action; reason can form an estimate of it upon the whole issue and result. This shews that nature has placed the government in reason, and that it is most natural for every man to act according to his reason. Yet again, man, as the ancient Greeks describe him, is Ζων κοινωνικον και πολιτικον, a communicative and sociable being. His inclinations carry him into society. Here and there you may find a misanthrope, a hater of his own kind; not born so, but soured by injuries, or contempt, real or imaginary. To one man who loves perfect solitude, there are thousands to whom it would be little better than death. Man also needs society, not only in his infant state, when he would be utterly helpless without it, but after he is grown up. Nothing can be conceived more forlorn and wretched than human life, destitute of all foreign helps. A man in such a state must fear

* For the agreeableness of virtue to human nature, and the disagreeableness of vice, see Cicero de Offic. lib. 3. cap. v, vi.

every thing, and want every thing : And then man is fitted for society. * *Est enim primum quod cernitur, &c.* " Sociableness is one of the first principles of human nature, and is observable in all mankind ; the great band that unites men in society, is reason and speech, which by teaching, learning, communicating, debating, judging, engages men to one another, and forms them into a natural union." Every one either does, or may, in some way of life or other, contribute to the common good. And then as man naturally needs society, and is fitted for it, so he as naturally delights in it ; delights in it, not merely because it is a remedy for his necessities, but because the society of his fellows, (meaning of the same species) and their happiness, as suited to the natural principle of benevolence, are naturally fitted to afford him pleasure ; as well as in the gratifications of his moral sense, approving the kind actions of others, or approving himself when he desires, endeavours, or promotes their well being : And indeed it is not so much in their love of society, from a prospect of the advantage which they receive by it, that mankind excel the dumb part of the creation, and are denominated sociable creatures, as in their natural disposition and inclination to seek each other's happiness, and to rejoice in it. By this excellent principle men are linked together, as well as by self-love, and inclined to pursue the common good, not only as their own is connected with it, and depends upon it, which is self-love, but from a more disinterested motive, which makes them pleased to do good for their sake to whom they do it.

* Cicero de Officiis, lib. 1. cap. xvi.

SECTION IX.

It is indeed an old proverb, *Homo homini lupus*, "One man is a wolf to another;" but there is another more antient than this, *Homo homini Deus*, "One man, for kindness and assistance, is as a God to another." This latter expresses what man by nature is disposed to be; the former what too many men are one to another through the corruption of their nature, and the contagion of bad example. Such are not so truly specimens and examples of human nature, as errors and deviations from it; the same in the moral world, as monsters are in the natural. And indeed it has been the sense of all ages, (a few declared enemies to religion excepted) that society was the most natural state of man; and it might have continued so, had not our countryman, Mr. Hobbes, been pleased to instruct the world better, and to inform us, that a state of nature is a state of war*. *Status hominum naturalis est bellum; neque hoc simpliciter, sed bellum omnium in omnes.* "Not merely of war, but a war of every one against every one." According to this, Ishmael's character, † that his hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him, is the natural character of all mankind; and yet methinks I am not willing to believe so ill of myself, and of my fellow-creatures as this comes to. It is observed of the scorpion, that he affords a cure for his own poison; and thus, very happily, by laying two passages of Mr. Hobbes together, we may expel the whole venom of his notion. ‡ *Quærendam esse pacem rectæ rationis dictamen est*; the other is,

* *De Cive*, cap. 1. † Gen. 16. xii. ‡ *De Cive*, lib. 3. cap. 1.

§ Recta ratio cum non minus sit pars naturæ humanæ, quam quælibet alia facultas, vel affectus animi, naturalis quoque dicitur. “ It is a dictate of right reason, that we should seek peace ;” “ and since right reason is no less a part of human nature, than the other faculty, of affection of mind, it is justly stiled natural.” || Elsewhere, indeed, he confines nature to those animal affections of fear, desire, anger, and the like, which are born with us. How to reconcile this difference let his admirers try ; for to them I leave it. Well then, if reason be nature, and peace be the dictate of reason, then surely the state of nature is a state of peace, not of war.

SECTION X.

It might be so, Mr. Hobbes would say, but here is the misery, * “ All men are equal, being equally capable of doing one another a mischief ;” and by the same means are they not equally capable of being beneficial one to another ? And is not this the most reasonable, that is, the most natural way of employing their abilities ? Bishop † Cumberland, I am sure, by various instances, has excellently well shewn, that this equilibrium of mankind suggests to all strong arguments, why they should help, and not hurt each other. “ But nature, says Mr. Hobbes, hath given to every man a right to all things ; and what must be the natural consequence of the same things being granted to every man, but strife and contention.” To this I answer,
1. There can be no such right ‡. “ Since nature, by setting bounds to the capacities of our

§ De Cive, lib. 3. cap. 2. || Ibid. in Præfat. * Ibid. cap. 1.

† De Legibus Naturæ, cap. 2. sect. xxix.

‡ Parker's Demonstration of the Law of Nature, p. 35. See also Bishop Cumberland de Legibus, cap. 2. sect. xvii.

" appetites and enjoyments, hereby plainly deter-
 " mines the limits of our rights, without setting
 " them forth by any other lines and descriptions."
 Nature can never be supposed to have given any one
 right to possess more than it has given him power to
 enjoy.

2. And then supposing this self-inconsistent right
 in every man to all things, yet forasmuch as it can
 never be put in execution, reason, that is, nature,
 directs mankind to share things among them after the
 most friendly manner they are able. In short, the
 Malmesbury philosopher took much the same method
 to make peace among mankind, as Des Cartes to put
 us in a way of finding out truth. In order to be
 certain of something, Des Cartes would first have
 us doubt of every thing; and so Mr. Hobbes sets
 the world together by the ears, that he may have
 an opportunity to shew his art in bringing them to
 treat of peace. Both of them lead us a great way
 round about, on'y to bring us at last to the very
 same place where he first found us. * Horace gives
 much the same account of the state of nature.

*Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
 Multum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia
 propter,
 Unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus atque ita
 porro
 Pugnant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus,
 &c.*

And Ovid the same, in his Fable of the Serpents.
 Metamorph. book 1.

Teeth sown by Cadmus, and shooting up into
 men.

* Lib. 1. satire iii. ver. 99—101.

But then though this account of things, wherein a state of war precedes that of peace, and society is not so very disagreeable to the scheme which represents men springing at first like mushrooms out of the earth; it is perfectly unreasonable in those, who suppose men to have had a Creator. Upon this supposition, * Juvenal's account of the original of society, who derives it from nature, is by far more reasonable, as well as honourable to our species.

Mollissima corda

*Humano generi dare se natura satetur,
Quæ lacrymas dedit, hæc nostri pars optima
sensus.
Principio indulsit communis conditor illis
Tantum animas, nobis animum quoque. Mutuus
ut nos
Affectus petere auxilium, et præstare juberet,
&c.*

And even supposing the Epicurean account of the origin of mankind true, there is no reason to think, that mankind, as soon as they meet, would be in a hostile disposition towards each other. The first passion upon this meeting would be astonishment; after which would follow curiosity to be better acquainted with each other; after which, finding a mutual resemblance, there would succeed mutual love and liking; and neither being conscious to any inclination in himself to hurt the other, neither would be suspicious of any harm from the other. For all fear and suspicion must arise from experience, either of evil inclinations and designs in one's self, (which I do not believe are properly natural in any one) or of injuries received from others, which as yet are supposed not to have happened. Indeed

* Satir. xv. ad fin.

after this, as soon as they came to have a mind to the same thing, self-love, if men did not exercise their reason, leading every man to prefer his own interest, would be the occasion of contentions, and these of wrongs, and these of mutual fears and jealousies. But all that this proves is, not a want of natural benevolence in mankind; not that fear, and envy, and malice, are prior to the contrary passions; but the narrowness of worldly enjoyments, and the superior strength of self-love, as an instinct above instinctive benevolence.

SECTION XI.

Further, man is Ζῶον φιλοκαλόν, καὶ φιλοκοσμον, a lover of beauty, proportion and decorum. This affection exerts itself in all, as soon as the necessities of life are secured; and in them who are possessed of a nicer taste, or improved by a polite education, this regard to symmetry and proportion is still more visible; so that although their moral characters are none of the best, yet would they be reckoned amongst the elegant part of mankind, and study a refinement in their manners and pleasures, and a beauty and propriety in their persons, their dress and their apartments. They seek after the works of art, and the productions of wit; and perceive in these a charm and agreeableness, which nothing but their conformity to certain rules can produce. Now if virtue be a beauty of the highest kind, then as such it must be suitable to the nature of man; and for a proof that it is so, we may appeal to any considerate person. For what is virtue but the steady order of the faculties, the exact temperature of the passions, the constant harmony of the life, the most proper position of the several beings, and subordination among the several parts of this intellectual universe; which

which if it prevailed over our moral system, would, to a contemplative mind, afford a more ravishing scene than the earth with all its beauty and variety, and the heavens with the wonderful adjustment, complication and regularity of their motions can yield. It is this fitness, this decorum of virtue, which constitutes what we call its moral goodness, not merely its tendency, as a means to promote the natural good of perceptive beings, which is the low notion that some have given of it. Temperance is on many accounts for the interest of the individual : But is this the most we can say of it * ? Is there not a beauty, a proportion, an unity, in well governed affections, and appetites obedient to reason ? Justice, benevolence, and generosity are the security and happiness of families ; and of societies : but is this all ? Do they not further beautify society, make a private person a most lovely sight, and prevailing through a community compose a beauty of the most striking kind, and produce the most exact situation of intelligent beings with regard to each other ? The worship and veneration of the Deity intitle the worshipper to his favour ; but considering the dependence of created beings upon their author, and the relation which his perfections and works bear to their faculties ; would not the with-holding worship and obedience be a violation of order, and cast a blemish upon the admirable structure of the moral world ? I

* It is well observed by the Earl of Shaftesbury, *Miscellaneous Reflections*, vol. iii. p. 180. " That the same shapes and proportions which make beauty, afford advantage, by adapting to activity and use." And so Cicero de *Offic.* lib. i. cap. xxvii. " Ut venustas et pulchritudo corporis, &c. As the beauty and fine complexion of the body cannot be separated from its health, so this decorum, of which we are speaking, runs through virtue, yet is distinguishable by the mind." The utile and the honestum are inseparable by the constitution of things, yet distinguishable by the mind, as much as beauty is from health, or the exact proportion of a body from its activity and use.

have given you, says * Cicero to his son, a sketch of what I may call the form and countenance of virtue, which, as Plato says, could it be made visible to the eye, would excite a strong affection. Vice, on the contrary, can never delight in its abstract idea, though as it helps to gratify a particular inclination it may; that is, as a means to pleasure, not as vice. Under this consideration it disgusts the minds of those who are intoxicated by its sensual allurements. A demonstration of this is men's readiness to condemn a vice with which they suppose themselves not to be chargeable; nay, often to blame that in another which they themselves practise; and that their minds, conscious to the baseness of what they do, may not fall upon them for it, they endeavour to gild over their own vices, and by giving them new names, to persuade themselves, if possible, that they are the virtues to which they bear any little resemblance. Let me conclude this head with observing, that this affection for beauty, if we followed its natural tendency, would lead us to the knowledge and love of the Deity; for as the chief gratifications of it are found in the works of nature, and all beauty supposes design and wisdom in the author of it, and his providing such an inexhaustible variety of beautiful objects for our entertainment, proves him greatly benevolent, we cannot, if we would pursue the dictates of a rational and grateful mind, but admire his wisdom, and love his goodness, which are considerable instances of true religion.

* De Officiis, lib. i. cap. xlviii.

SECTION XII.

Finally, man is a creature formed for religion, * *Ζῶν το θεοσεβέστατον*, is dependent on a Supreme Being, capable of knowing on whom he depends, and has a natural awe of his Creator impressed on his mind. He naturally admires the grandeur, beauty, and use that abound all over the world which he inhabits; he has a natural curiosity to prompt him to inquire after the cause, and has reason to discover to him a supreme all-perfect mind as the only adequate cause of this infinity of beauty and good: his passions of veneration, gratitude, fear, and hope, naturally terminate in this being, as the only object equal to them; and his natural apprehensions of eternity strongly excite him to secure, by goodness and piety, the favour of that Almighty and Eternal Being, who alone can make him happy during that everlasting state of which he is apprehensive. And now laying all these properties together, self-love, reason, a social disposition and benevolent affections, a strong sense and love of beauty, a natural dependence of a Supreme Being, and a natural awe of him, &c. we have an idea of human nature; the natural difference between virtue and vice appears at first sight. What is more agreeable to human nature than the first? what more repugnant than the latter? Industry and temperance are adapted to the nature of man, as he is desirous of his own happiness; justice and benevolence as he is a creature formed for society; the worship of God, gratitude, reverence, and trust, as it is one part of his character to be religious; and all these as he is reasonable.

* Plato in *Timæo*, who also terms man *Ζῶν ὁσιώτατον*. To this agree Ovid's *Sanctus* his animal, and the *divinorumque capaces* of Juvenal. Satir. 15.

Yea, besides that more peculiar and immediate conformity which these virtues have separately to human nature, considered in its diverse respects, each of them has a more extensive and general influence. Thus sobriety and diligence, at the same time that they are instrumental to a man's private happiness, render him more useful to society, more capable of religion, and acceptable to God. At the same time that justice and benevolence have a more special relation to others, they are a security to a man's self, and procure him the best of all pleasures, tranquillity, and satisfaction of mind, together with the favour and approbation of God. Thus, finally, the worship of a Deity is at once a debt to our Maker; the great support and noblest entertainment of the mind, and the most indissoluble band of society. So manifest is the necessity of religion to uphold the good order of society, that some men, of a perverse turn of thought have inferred, * *Totam de Diis immortalibus opinionem, &c.* "That the belief and worship of the immortal Gods were wholly a fiction of wise men for the good of the public; that the awe of religion might impel those to do their duty, whom reason could not persuade."

SECTION XIII.

But the necessity of these virtues to human happiness, whether private or social, is by no way made so sensible, as by a supposition of the contrary, that all mankind should become intemperate, idle, unjust, perfidious, cruel, profane. How could the world bear its inhabitants, if they were all of this complexion! Was every man as slothful and intemperate as some men are, it would be the destruction of the whole kind. Without justice, and the sense

* Cicero de Natura Deor. lib. i. cap. xlv.

of a Deity, there would be no society, or what was even worse than none. This made * Cicero say of justice, *Cujus tanta vis est, ut nec illi quidem, qui maleficio, et scelere pascuntur, possint sine ulla particula justitiæ vivere.* " Without some particle of justice, robbers and pirates would not be liable to maintain their confederacies:" If they had a mind to continue together, they must be just to one another, though they have declared war, and practice violence and treachery against the whole world besides.

SECTION XIV.

Abstracting from this particular consideration of human nature, and the influence which religion and virtue have upon its several interests, there is an intrinsic amiableness and excellency in these things, and an inseparable turpitude in the contrary. Virtue is not only a bonum utile, but honestum; good not only because profitable, but, because of its native excellence, its inseparable beauty and lustre. " And there are some things, says † Cicero, so foul, " so flagitious, that a good man will not do them, " though to save the commonwealth:" but then, as he adds admirably well, " It is so well ordered, " that affairs can never be in such a situation as to " make it salutary to the commonwealth, for a wise " and good man to practice them." Who does not think it a better character, to be of a just, merciful, grateful, benevolent disposition, than, on the contrary, unjust, cruel, ungrateful, ungenerous? The fruits of virtue are of two sorts; the external interests of mankind, and inward strength and peace. The first argue virtue to be of a nature beneficial to

* De Offic. lib. 2. cap. xi.

† Ibid. lib. 1. cap. xlv.
mankind;

mankind ; but then this does not constitute its formal nature ; for, independently of interest, it is better to be grateful, and honest, than otherwise. They who resolve the virtue of every action into its utility, do a very needless thing, when they set themselves to prove that virtue is for the interest and happiness of mankind. Who can doubt it upon this notion of virtue ? If virtue consists in the profitable of actions, then it is plain that all virtue is profitable ; since if it was unprofitable, it could not be virtue. The other fruits of virtue prove that it is in itself a * beautiful and a decorous thing. For hence is that satisfaction which is the immediate and necessary result of virtuous qualities of mind, and a regular course of life ; hence is that perfect and eternal complacency of the Divine Being in his goodness, justice, and truth ; for were not these in themselves very great perfections, he who is under no law, and has no dependence upon any one, would have no reason to reproach himself, though he were tyrannical and unfaithful ; since the obligation, necessity, or fitness that he should be otherwise, can arise only from the irreconcilable differences in the nature of these things.

*Ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda tatinis :
Sed, veræ numerosque modosqui edisce e vitæ,*

S E C T I O N XV. ii.

The other proposition, and which compleats the demonstration, is this : that natural reason discovers it to be the will of God, and every man should look

* There is a threefold order : of the faculties ; of life ; to which may be applied those words of Pliny, though otherwise meant by him, *Me autem ut certus siderum cursus, ita vita hominum disposita delectat.* Epistol. lib. 3. epistol. 1. and those of Horace, Epistol. lib. 1. epistol. ii. ver. 143-4.

upon

upon this difference, in the nature of things, as a law or rule which he is always religiously to observe, under pain of his Maker's displeasure. The truth of which proposition is evidenced by several considerations.

I. God, who is infinitely good, cannot but will the perfection and happiness of his creatures; and he who wills the end wills the means: and it has been before proved, that the happiness of man, whether alone or in society, depends upon virtue, as the necessary means to its attainment.

II. He who has given existence to beings, must, if he be wise, and sees no reason to depart from his original purpose, will their preservation. God is infinite in wisdom; he is likewise the creator of man, and has so formed him, as to put it beyond all dispute that he designed him for society. Whatever therefore tends to the preservation of life, and the support and improvement of society, must be the object of the divine approbation, and the contrary repugnant hereunto; for he cannot be supposed to create a reasonable being, and then leave the being at his liberty, by his own foolish and irregular conduct, to destroy himself: He cannot be conceived to have instituted society, and laid the members of it under no obligation to the practice of those virtues which would make society flourish, or, to avoid those licentious actions, which would overturn the very foundations of it.

SECTION XVI. iii.

God has designed the nature of things, as interpretation of his will; so that if from the nature of things it may be demonstrated that some actions are fit to be done, and others forboren, the doing or forbearing those actions is manifestly the object of the

the divine will : The reason is, that it is the author and parent of nature. The Egyptians had an hieroglyphical language, and conveyed their noblest sentiments in symbols. There was some foundation for this language in the nature of animals and other things ; but the meaning of causes, universally producing the same effect, is much more certain. “ Whether true proposition, saith a judicious * writer, indicates this, or that, as proper to be done, is an indication from God that it ought to be done. Nor is it more certain, that natural things were made by God to produce their natural effects ; as the sun to illuminate the air, the rain to moisten the earth, and the like, than that propositions which naturally direct our actions, were given us by God to serve as rules of conduct : for this is the only thing they are good for, namely, to direct ; and this they do necessarily from their own intrinsic nature.” And that such propositions are true, cannot be doubted ; “ it being certain, as this author observed just before, that none but true propositions, whether speculative or practical, can be impressed on our minds by the nature of things ; since natural actions indicate that only which exists, and are the causes of that alone wherein there is nothing of falshood : For as to falshood in propositions, it proceeds wholly from a voluntary rashness ; by which we are led to join or separate notions, which nature has not joined or separated. If therefore the terms are naturally connected, the proposition affirmed of them must needs be true. And such a connection there is, when from the same thing, differently considered, or compared with other things, its different conceptions, (conceptus) commonly indeed

* Cumberland de Legibus Naturæ, cap. v. sect. 1.

“ inadequate

“ inadequate, are suggested to the mind. And from
 “ this it is easy to judge of negative propositions
 “ when they are true.” Consult also what the
 same author says, cap. ii. sect. 10. *Tanti momento
 videtur, &c.*

SECTION XVII. iv.

The essential rectitude of the divine nature is an incontestable proof of the same truth. God by a necessity of nature is just, and good, and merciful, and true; in the highest degree of perfection: and the necessity that he himself should be all this, makes it necessary that he should will all other beings to be like him herein; who are capable of such a resemblance. For why is God holy, just and merciful, but because it is best to be so, and God cannot but be, and do what is best? And is it not in the nature of things better, that man should have these qualities, than be without them; and, consequently altogether reasonable that he should labour to possess them? And must not the choice and practice of what is reasonable and fit, please God in his creatures, as well as in himself? It is impossible therefore that God should put out of his forming hand a reasonable creature, in his original constitution void of all traces of these perfections; or, that having created a being with a disposition to act regularly, and a capacity of so acting, he should not will his endeavouring to continue in a state of integrity; or being fallen, his endeavouring to recover his lost innocence: And in order to that, his doing whatever he was under an obligation to do before his defection, and has since retained a power to do.

SECTION

SECTION XVIII. v.

The will of God in this matter appears with further evidence, from the cautionary provision he hath made, to secure the observation of what is dictated by right reason. As by planting several instincts and passions in the soul of man, subservient to his duty, and disposing him to practice it; as the natural love of parents to their offspring, the passion of pity, a proneness to self-esteem, the desire of a good name, and the secret dread of a superintending Deity. Parents, by their natural affection, and pursuing its dictates in a kind and tender behaviour to their children, will be more disposed to follow the dictates of a general benevolence and compassion in their treatment of others, and be insensibly carried to be civil and obliging to them, who in their turn may be able to repay their kindness to their children: and the children having for so long a time experienced the greatest tenderness for their parents, and those about them by their direction, will have their dispositions more softened, and by education, as well as nature, be taught humanity. The helpless state in which the first years of life are past, does further hint the reasonableness of hazard-
 ing this life when we are grown up, for the public safety. “ For, saith an excellent * author, during
 “ our tender age we intirely depend upon the obe-
 “ dience which others yield to æconomical precepts;
 “ civil laws, and those of religion. Hence it comes
 “ that if we afterwards expose our lives to danger;
 “ yea, if we lay them down for the public good; we
 “ lose less for its sake than we have already received
 “ from it: we only lose the uncertain hope of fu-
 “ ture enjoyments, should we have lived; yea,

* Cumberland de Legibus Naturæ, Prolegom. sect. xxi.

“ rather

“ rather it is certain there can be little hope left
 “ for particular persons, when the common good is
 “ trampled on: whereas from thence we have re-
 “ ceived the actual possession of life, and of all those
 “ perfections which adorn it.” The pitiful will
 not be likely to put those into a state of misery,
 whom they should be uneasy to behold miserable.
 A proneness to self-esteem is another thing subser-
 vient to virtue. Every man would esteem himself, but
 it is impossible he should have any ground for doing
 so if he be not virtuous: Virtue, therefore, being
 the only just foundation of self-esteem, is what this
 inclination to esteem one’s self prompts every man to
 endeavour after. A regard to the outward beha-
 viour may secure the esteem of other men, but not
 our own; which shews the wisdom of our Creator,
 who, to make us concerned that our external beha-
 viour be good, hath made it natural to desire the
 esteem of other men; and that we might not rest in
 a bare outside of virtue, hath planted this other
 passion for self-esteem, which is not to be satisfied
 but by a real inward principle of goodness. A man
 can never be easy and pleased with himself, who
 knows himself to be a knave. All who value their
 reputation will have some regard to their behaviour,
 and not do things which would bring an indelible
 blot upon them, and mark them for the worst of
 men. And, because a man inwardly vicious, must
 desire to appear virtuous, he will hence be excited to
 labour after the truth of virtue, that he may be able
 with ease, and without danger of detection, to pre-
 serve the outward appearance. The fear of a De-
 ity is a considerable restraint, and takes hold of men
 where human laws can signify little.

SECTION XIX. vi.

Again, God hath shewn it to be his will that men should practice virtue, by so forming the mind, that propositions, containing the principal duties of morality, are no sooner understood, but assented to, even by persons not capable of exact reasoning; as children, and others whose understanding is much of the same size as theirs; and by those who, though they have reason, are not well accustomed to use it. Yea, we find that it is by a kind of anticipation that a great part of mankind have the knowledge of moral truth; for how seldom do they reason upon them, and yet how readily do they agree to such assertions as these? That we are to honour our parents, to love our benefactors, to make good our promises; and that they who do these things deserve the esteem of mankind beyond others who neglect them. And lastly, by the guard of natural conscience, by the satisfaction or dissatisfaction, consequent upon good or evil actions. It will not destroy this proof to attribute these to education; for besides, that they are found in many who never had a tolerable education, these early prepossessions can never be the total cause of such effects. Were it all prejudice of education, it would follow, that should parents and magistrates join together, magistrates to establish iniquity by a law, and parents to bring up their children in a belief that the law of the magistrate was the law of nature, men would be terrified by their consciences as often as they should be temperate or grateful; feel a most exquisite pleasure when they had been guilty of drunkenness, or betrayed a friend, and the like. Nor can we account for it by the different nature of actions, unless we further suppose something of the finger of God in it

too. Some, from the confidence and joy which are bred by a good life, have thought themselves authorized to establish virtue as the summum bonum of man; and some, not able to bear the lashes of conscience after the commission of certain crimes, have laid violent hands upon themselves. He who does not see the hand of God in this, must be exceeding blind.

SECTION XX.

Thus have I made good the second proposition, that natural reason discovers it to be the will of God, that every man should look upon this difference in the nature of things, as a law or rule, which he is always religiously to observe, under pain of his Maker's displeasure. I might add the * suffrages of Heathen authors, who, as they traced out a law of nature, so acknowledged God to be the law-giver. Thus † Cicero testifies of the wise men of antiquity. *Principem legem illam et ultimam mentem esse dicebant, omnia ratione aut cogentis aut ventantis Dei.* "They thought this first and last of laws to be the mind of God, who orders or forbids every thing with perfect reason." This he afterwards calls *Lex cœlestis*, "the heavenly law;" and a little further on, says, *Sit igitur hoc principio persuasum civibus, &c.* "Let it be the first care to establish this persuasion in the minds of the citizens, that the Gods are the supreme proprietors and governors of all things; that whatever comes to pass is directed by their power, wisdom and authority; that mankind are under the greatest obligations to them, and that they observe what every person's

* See a variety of these in Sharrock de *Fidibus, et Officiis secundum Naturæ Jus*, cap. 2. no. iii.

† De *Legibus*, lib. 2. cap. iv, vii.

real character is, what he does, and what he thinks ; with what design, and with what inward devotion men perform religious rites, and regard differently the pious and the impious. How many have been restrained from wickedness by a fear of divine punishments? and how free from crimes will society be, and how sacred promises and oaths, the immortal Gods being regarded, both as witnesses and judges ! This is, as Plato calls it, a proper introduction to human laws.” “ Are you not acquainted, says “ * Socrates to Hippias, with some unwritten “ laws? I suppose you mean, says the other, those “ which alike obtain in all parts of the world. And “ can you say, replied Socrates, that these were “ framed by men? How could they, answered Hip- “ pias, when it is impossible that all mankind should “ meet together ; and besides that, are not all of “ one language? Who then do you imagine was “ the author of these laws? Why, says he, I can- “ not but esteem these laws to have been given by “ the Gods to men.” Among these natural laws he reckons the following : that the Gods should be worshipped, which he calls the first ; and parents honoured, &c. And † Sophocles makes Antigone speak thus to Creon, tyrant of Thebes, “ Nor did “ I think that your decrees could prevail so much, “ that being only a mortal man you could run down “ the unwritten and established laws of the Gods. “ They are not now only, nor of yesterday, laws, “ but were for ever in force, and no one knows “ by whom they were first promulged.” And to multiply citations, *λογω ορθω πειθισθαι και Θείω ταύτον εστι*, says ‡ Hierocles. “ To obey right reason, is the “ very same as to obey God ;” and upon this ac-

* Xenophon. de Memorabil. lib. 4. cap. iv.

† Antigone, act 2. scene iv.

‡ In Aurea Carm. Pythagor. cap. ix.

count the antient philosophers stiled reason *Θεὸν ἐνοικον* an indwelling God. So much juster were the notions and reasonings of the Heathens in this matter than those of Mr. Hobbes *, who will not allow the name of laws to belong to those conclusions of reason concerning things to be done or omitted. The Heathens had sense enough to know, that the voice of nature was the voice of God, the author of nature; while a pretended Christian, erecting himself into an interpreter of nature, denies it. But if God speaks to us by the practical dictates of our reason, they are properly laws, and the laws of God; and his rational creatures with reason expect his favour and acceptance in a course of obedience to them, but transgress them at their peril. And this brings me

SECTION XXI.

To the sanction of the law of nature, which is either present or future. † Bishop Cumberland observes, from Cicero and Papinian, that the word sanction, in its strict sense, has regard only to the penalties incurred by the breach of the law; but as this author, and others, use it in a larger sense, as comprehensive also of rewards, so they are sufficiently warranted in doing this, were it only by the reason which he proposes, that rewards are a fence about laws, as well as punishments, from whence they are called *sanctæ*. ‡ *Sanctum est, quod ab injuria hominum defensum atque munitum est.* The present sanction consists, on the one hand, in the peace and approbation of a man's own mind; § *Nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia majus est,* “Not the

* De Cive, cap. 4. sect. xxxiii. † Prolegom. sect. xiv.
‡ Digest. lib. 1. tit. viii. leg. 8. § Cicero. Tusculan. Quæst. lib. 2.
U 3 approbation

approbation of the most public theatre can give equal happiness to a virtuous mind with its own."

One self-approving hour whole years outweighs
Of stupid starers, and of loud huzzas;
And more true joy Marcellus exil'd feels,
Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels.

POPE.

Add to the satisfactions of a just self-approbation, health of body, esteem and credit amongst all men, the favour and friendship of the wise and sober part, prosperity in our outward condition and affairs, chearful trust in God and his providence, and the hopes of much greater and better things after death; all which are ordinarily the present rewards of virtue, and some of them always. On the other hand, the present sanction of the law of nature includes the reverse of all this; shame, anguish, and perplexity of mind, disorders of body, contempt and hatred from others, with a great many more external evils: all which do usually attend on vice, and some of them without fail. *Tantum ponam brevi duplicem pœnam esse divinam; quod constaret et ex vexandis virorum animis; et ea fama mortuorum; ut eorum exitium et judicio virorum et gaudio comprobetur.* "The punishment, says * Cicero, inflicted by the " Deity on bad men, consists chiefly in these two " things; the anguish and horrors of mind which " attend them while living, and their having their " ruin approved and rejoiced in by those who survive them."

Thus † Socrates takes notice, " that there were " natural penalties annexed to the violation of the

* De Legibus, lib. 2. cap. xvii.

† Xenophon. de Memorabil. lib. 4. cap. iv.

“ divine laws, which men could by no means escape, while they who transgressed human laws, did often find the way to go unpunished.” Well, my Socrates, says Hippias, all these things appear to be divine ; for that laws should carry their own penalties in them seems to argue a more than human law-giver. The future sanction is the reward or punishment reserved in an after state.

SECTION XXII.

You may note this difference between these two sorts of sanctions ; that the first are a proof of the law of nature ; the law of nature is a proof of the second. From the good or bad influence of actions, on our present happiness, it is reasonable to argue, that there is a law commanding or forbidding the actions which have these respective consequences ; and from this law, well established, it is rationally inferred, that there is another world besides this, where they who keep, and they who break this law, shall be more remarkably distinguished than they are at present ; and the rather, because a man’s happiness in this world arises from two causes, his own behaviour, and that of other men ; of which the latter is not in his power. It is not enough to secure the quiet and prosperity of human life, that a person performs his part, unless other men do theirs ; which it is very often seen they do not, and by this means bring the virtuous man into troubles and perplexities, contrary to the natural tendency of his own actions. It is no wonder therefore, that men dispute with so much zeal against the law of nature, since if they could but once persuade themselves there is no such law, the fear of a future judgement will vanish of course from among them who give no credit to revealed religion, and who

perhaps would have a great deal of reason for their unbelief, were there no natural religion on which revelation is founded.

SECTION XXIII.

What has been proved relating to the law of nature, condemns that abominable tenet of Archelaus, Epicurus, and others, that nature hath put no moral difference between things; whatever difference there may now be is *Θησι*, not *Φυσι*; adventitious and introduced by custom, and the laws of men. In opposition to which Cicero says, *Nihil est profecto præstabilius quam plane intelligi nos ad justitiam esse natos; neque opinione, sed natura constitutum esse jus.* “Nothing is of more importance than clearly to understand, that we are formed to approve and practice justice, which is the dictate of nature, independent of human opinions.” It is excellently observed by * Bishop Cumberland, “That there is
 “the same measure of good and evil, as of true or
 “false, in propositions concerning the effects of
 “certain motions, tending to the conservation or
 “destruction of things, viz. the nature of things;
 “and whatsoever proposition points out the true
 “cause of conservation, does at the same time shew
 “what is true good.” The contrary notion, which makes all moral distinctions of actions to be arbitrary, was with some little disguise revived in the last century by Mr. Hobbes, whose principles were a disgrace to his learning and wit. † *Injustitia erga homines, &c.* “Injustice towards men supposes human laws, which can have no existence in a state of nature.” He talks indeed, in the sentence immediately preceding, of natural laws, wherein he only

* *De Legibus Naturæ*, cap. 1. sect. xx.

† *De Cive*, cap. 1. sect. x.

plays his words; for in another place he says, *
 “ They are not properly laws as they proceed from
 nature :” Nay, in his † *Leviathan* he says, “ Good
 and evil are always understood with relation to the
 person who use these words; since there is nothing
 simply so, nor any common rule of good and evil
 derived from the nature of the objects themselves.”
 And in his book *De Cive*, cap. 14. sect. xvii. “ We
 all measure good and evil by the pleasure or pain we
 ourselves feel.” The foregoing proof of the law of
 nature is a sufficient confutation of those principles
 of anarchy and confusion : however consider further,

S E C T I O N XXIV. i.

That were there no law of nature, there would
 be no such things as human laws, or promises, or
 compacts that were binding. The very essence of
 law lies in its obliging force. By setting aside the
 law of nature, no Heathen subject (not to say Chri-
 stian) is obliged, in conscience, to obey the com-
 mands of the magistrate; but whenever he can be
 unjust, consistently with his own safety, has full li-
 cence to be so, for any restraint his conscience lays
 upon him. The interposition of promises and com-
 pacts alters not the case; for though these are a
 man's voluntary acts, and Mr. Hobbes will have
 the observation of them to be a dictate of the natural
 law, yet besides that, this dictate of reason is not
 properly a law of God, according to Mr. Hobbes
 himself. I deny that reason binds us to the per-
 formance of our promises, if it be true that, in a
 state of nature, nothing that a man can do is unjust :
 For I appeal to any one, whether a breach of pro-
 mise be at all more contrary to reason, than killing

* *De Cive*, cap. iii. sect. xxxiii.

† Cap. 6.

a man

a man, or doing him any other hurt, who never gave us the least provocation? So that it could be only to serve an hypothesis that Mr. Hobbes makes the same thing unjust in society, viz. the hurting of an innocent person, which in the state of nature he asserts to be just and allowable. As for custom, into which some have resolved this difference of actions, it is not supposable it could ever have become so general without some foundation in nature; besides, that custom, though it may influence, does not oblige. Had a man no other reason to be just and temperate, but that the world has been accustomed, without reason, to look upon justice and temperance as virtues, he could not be blamed though he should depart from a groundless custom, and endeavour to undeceive the world. And is not society likely to thrive wonderfully upon such principles!

SECTION XXV. ii.

Were there no law of nature, but the difference of good and evil depending upon human constitution, then (as hath been frequently objected to this notion) should the magistrate, or tyrant custom to please, what is now just might become unjust; what is generous might become base; and so vice versa: and accordingly men would be obliged to change their practice with their notions of these things; a supposition which, on the first mention, shocks common sense, and would soon break all society in pieces. Were there a sufficient number of this sort of men to form a commonwealth, which I would hope there is not, I would advise them to herd together, and, for experiment's sake, establish a society upon their own principles, and there is no question but the miserable state into which they would soon run themselves, would more effectually convince

convince them of the absurdity of this notion, than all the reasoning in the world can do.

As the writers in proof of a law of nature have built upon different principles, which are consistent enough with each other, and, when united, establish it on an immoveable foundation, it may be of use to divide them into three different classes.



Entrance upon the World.

Advices to a young Man.

C Urino was a young man brought up to a respectable trade; the term of his apprenticeship was almost expired, and he was contriving how he might venture into the world with safety, and pursue business with innocence and success. Among his near kindred, Serenus was one, a gentleman of considerable character in the sacred profession; and after he had consulted with his father, who was a merchant of great esteem and experience, he also thought fit to seek a word of advice from the divine. Serenus had such a respect for his young kinsman, that he set his thoughts at work on this subject, and with some tender expressions, which melted the youth into tears, he put into his hand a paper of his best counsels. Curino entered upon business, pursued his employment with uncommon advantage, and, under the blessing of Heaven, advanced himself to a considerable estate. He lived with honour in the world, and gave a lustre to the religion which he professed; and after a long life of piety and usefulness, he died with a sacred composure of soul, under the influences of the Christian hope. Some of his neighbours wondered at his felicity in this world,

world, joined with so much innocence, and such severe virtue. But after his death this paper was found in his closet, which was drawn up by his kinsman in holy orders, and was supposed to have had a large share in procuring his happiness.

Advices to a young Man.

I. **K**insman, I presume you desire to be happy here, and hereafter : You know there are a thousand difficulties which attend this pursuit ; some of them perhaps you foresee, but there are multitudes which you could never think of. Never trust therefore to your own understanding in the things of this world, where you can have the advice of a wise and faithful friend, nor dare venture the more important concerns of your soul, and your eternal interests in the world to come, upon the mere light of nature, and the dictates of your own reason, since the word of God, and the advice of Heaven, lies in your hands. Vain and thoughtless indeed are those children of pride, who choose to turn Heathens in the midst of Great-Britain, who live upon the mere religion of nature and their own stock, when they have been trained up among all the superior advantages of Christianity, and the blessings of divine revelation and grace.

II. Whatsoever your circumstances may be in this world, still value your bible as your best treasure ; and whatsoever be your employment here, still look upon religion as your best business. Your bible contains eternal life in it, and all the riches of the upper world ; and religion is the only way to become a possessor of them.

III. To direct your carriage towards God, converse particularly with the Book of Psalms ; David was a man of sincere and eminent devotion. To
behave

behave aright among men, acquaint yourself with the whole Book of Proverbs ; Solomon was a man of large experience and wisdom. And to perfect your directions in both these, read the gospels and the epistles ; you will find the best of rules and the best of examples there, and those more immediately suited to the Christian life.

IV. As a man, maintain strict temperance and sobriety, by a wise government of your appetites and passions ; as a neighbour, influence and engage all around you to be your friends, by a temper and carriage made up of prudence and goodness, and let the poor have a certain share in all your yearly profits ; as a trader, keep that golden sentence of our Saviour's ever before you, Whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do you also unto them.

V. While you make the precepts of Scripture the constant rule of your duty, you may with courage rest upon the promises of Scripture as the springs of your encouragement. All divine assistances and divine recompences are contained in them. The spirit of light and grace is promised to assist them that ask it. Heaven and glory are promised to reward the faithful and the obedient.

VI. In every affair of life begin with God ; consult him in every thing that concerns you ; view him as the author of all your blessings and all your hopes, as your best friend and your eternal portion : meditate on him in this view, with a continual renewal of your trust in him, and a daily surrender of yourself to him, till you feel that you love him most entirely, that you serve him with sincere delight, and that you cannot live a day without God in the world.

VII. You know yourself to be a man, an indigent creature, and a sinner ; and you profess to be a Christian, a disciple of the blessed Jesus : but never think you know Christ, nor yourself as you ought,
till

till you find a daily need of him for righteousness and strength, for pardon and sanctification; and let him be your constant introducer to the great God, though he sit upon a throne of grace. Remember his own words, John xiv. 6. No man cometh to the Father but by me.

VIII. Make prayer a pleasure, and not a task, and then you will not forget nor omit it. If ever you have lived in a praying family, never let it be your fault if you do not live in one always. Believe that day, that hour, or those minutes to be all wasted and lost, which any worldly pretences would tempt you to save out of the publick worship of the church, the certain and constant duties of the closet, or any necessary services for God and godliness. Beware lest a blast attend it, and not a blessing. If God had not reserved one day in seven to himself, I fear religion would have been lost out of the world; and every day of the week is exposed to a curse, that has no morning religion.

IX. See that you watch and labour, as well as pray: diligence and dependence must be united in the practice of every Christian. It is the same wise man acquaints us, that the hand of the diligent, and the blessing of the Lord join together to make us rich, Prov. x. 4—22. Rich in the treasures of body or mind, of time or eternity.

It is your duty indeed, under a sense of your own weakness, to pray daily against sin; but if you would effectually avoid it, you must also avoid temptation, and every dangerous opportunity. Set a double guard wheresoever you feel or suspect an enemy at hand. The world without, and the heart within, have so much flattery and deceit in them, that we must keep a sharp eye upon both, lest we are trapt into mischief between them.

X. Honour, profit, and pleasure, have been sometimes called the world's trinity; they are its
three

three chief idols ; each of them is sufficient to draw a soul off from God, and ruin it for ever ; beware of them therefore, and of all their subtle insinuations, if you would be innocent or happy.

Remember that the honour which comes from God, the approbation of Heaven, and of your own conscience, are infinitely more valuable than all the esteem or applause of men. Dare not to venture one step out of the road of Heaven, for fear of being laughed at for walking strictly in it : it is a poor religion that cannot stand against a jest.

Sell not your hopes of heavenly treasures, nor any thing that belongs to your eternal interest, for any of the advantages of the present life : What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ?

Remember also the words of the wise man, He that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man ; he that indulges himself in wine and oil, that is, in drinking, in feasting, and in sensual gratifications, shall not be rich. It is one of St. Paul's characters of a most degenerate age, when men become lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God. And that fleshly lusts war against the soul, is St. Peter's caveat to the Christians of his time.

XI. Preserve your conscience always soft and sensible ; if but one sin force its way into that tender part of the soul, and dwell easy there, the road is paved for a thousand iniquities.

And take heed that under any scruple, doubt, or temptation whatsoever, you never let any reasonings satisfy your conscience which will not be a sufficient answer, or apology, to the Great Judge at the last day.

XII. Keep this thought ever in your mind. It is a world of vanity and vexation in which you live ; the flatteries and promises of it are vain and deceitful ; prepare therefore to meet disappointments.

Many

Many of its occurrences are teizing and vexatious. In every ruffling storm without, possess your spirit in patience, and let all be calm and serene within. Clouds and tempests are only found in the lower skies; the heavens above are ever bright and clear. Let your heart and hope dwell much in these serene regions; live as a stranger here on earth, but as a citizen of Heaven, if you will maintain a soul at ease.

XIII. Since in many things we offend all, and there is not a day passes which is perfectly free from sin, let repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, be your daily work: A frequent renewal of these exercises which make a Christian at first, will be a constant evidence of your sincere Christianity, and give you peace in life, and hope in death.

XIV. Ever carry about with you such a sense of the uncertainty of every thing in this life, and of life itself, as to put nothing off till to-morrow which you can conveniently do to-day. Dilatory persons are frequently exposed to surprize and hurry in every thing that belongs to them: the time is come, and they are unprepared. Let the concerns of your soul and your shop, your trade and your religion, lie always in such order, as far as possible, that death, at a short warning, may be no occasion of a disquieting tumult in your spirit, and that you may escape the anguish of a bitter repentance in a dying hour. Farewel.

Phronimus, a considerable Eastland merchant, happened upon a copy of these advices about the time when he permitted his son to commence a partnership with him in his trade. He transcribed them with his own hand, and made a present of them to the youth, together with the articles of partnership. Here, young man, said he, is a paper of more worth than these articles. Read it over once a month,

month, till it is wrought in your very soul and temper. Walk by these rules, and I can trust my estate in your hands. Copy out these counsels in your life, and you will make me and yourself easy and happy.

Maxims and Rules of Prudence methodized.

From Dr. COTTON MATHER's *Manuductio*. With some Additions.

I. *With Regard to your Thoughts.*

1. **A** Close heart and an open face will carry you through the world.

Sir Henry Wotton to Milton.

2. Think before you speak.
Think before whom you speak.
Think why you speak.
Think what you speak.

3. *Audi, cerne, tace,*
Si tu vis vivere in pace.
If you would live in peace and rest,
You must hear and see, and say the best.

Or thus :

Hear, perceive, and yet be still,
If remain in peace you will.

II. *As to Words and Conversation.*

1. A man must not tell all he knows, nor do all he can, nor believe all he hears, nor spend all he has.

X

2. For

2. For what is to be said in company,
Bis prius ad limam,
Quam semel ad linguam.

Twice to the file before once to the tongue,
 Mind this, 'tis worth while, whether you are old
 or young.

3. Least said is soonest mended.

4. *In multi loquio multi loquium,*
 In much speaking there is foolish speaking.

5. Prudent Philip Henry said, He often got
 hurt by speaking, rarely by holding his tongue.

6. "I hold it so," says a young parson;
 "young man, it becomes you to hold your tongue,"
 replies an old divine.

7. Speak well of every body, as far as you can
 with truth, on all occasions, and even watch for
 all occasions to do so: there is a marvellous good-
 ness, and a wonderful wisdom, a high degree of
 prudence in this.

8. Speak evil of no man, if you can help it.
 Evil speaking has a sad indiscretion as well as inde-
 cency in it; for the very birds of the air strangely
 report the matter, and circulate it.

Prudence in speaking of Men's Characters,

9. On the other hand, as to speaking good:
 Remember, there is often a want of wisdom in our
 being either too copious, or too early, or too high,
 or too quick in our commendations of any persons.

Don't be too high, or too hasty in your praises.

Dr. D——'s Foible.

And yet he was a most amiable man for speaking good
 of young ministers and others, and did abundance of
 good by it.

10. Lay hands suddenly on no man: If you are
 too copious, too early, too quick and hasty, too
 high

high and extravagant in your praises of a person, you may, sooner than you think, foresee your vast commendations confuted, and you brought to shame and bitter repentance for your folly.

He that blesteth his friend early with a loud voice.
Prov. xxvii. 14. See Henry Dr. G.

Qualem commendes etiam, atque etiam aspice.

III. *As to our Enemies and Slanderers who reproach our Name and Abilities, and censure our Behaviour and Conduct.*

1. Never sacrifice any hours of a short life in personal contentions, personal reflections, mean quarrels, and silly squabbles, with base low people. Never squabble with a woman especially. Let your moderation be known unto all men.

2. If it be whispered about, that any man has despised, derided, or spoke diminutively of you, the best way, for the most part, is to take no notice of it. Let not them that have scorned and abused you, know that you are acquainted with it.

3. If any preacher should be so silly and impertinent, as to have any girds and sneers at you in the pulpit, I charge you do not answer the man; go on in your ministry as if you had heard nothing.
Sile et funestam, dedisti Plagam.

IV. *Gaining the Goodwill of Mankind.*

1. Learn to be good natured to all men.

2. You may come to be almost universally beloved while you live, if your good-nature and good humour appear in continual demonstrations, which will satisfy every one that you shall delight in doing all good offices which they can desire of you; and that if you see or hear any thing disreputable in

them, you will generously cast and keep a mantle o
love over it.

N. B. No nation or language, but the English,
has a proper term or phrase for good-nature or
good humour. Examine this in the Hebrew,
Greek, Latin, and French language.

Wise and beautiful publick spirit for the glory
and kingdom of Christ.

3. Always remember, that wisdom lies in the
not doing that which may any way prejudice human
society, of which we are a part, but on the contrary,
make all our actions, and studies, and labours in
learning and religion tend to the benefit of society,
viz. the church and mankind. This is a noble
maxim.

4. No wise man will be taken a second time in
an error he hath once suffered for.

Let past errors in life twinge thy conscience, and
sing thee into caution.

V. *The delicate and divine Art of pleasing and
edifying Company.*

1. Many rules of behaviour are contained in
that one word MODESTY, which renders every one
his due, and assumes nothing undue to one's self.
This is true Christian politeness.

2. A great deal of good behaviour is comprized
in that one maxim, Do and say nothing that may be
justly offensive to the company.

3. The truth is, the most exact and constant
rules of behaviour will be found to be the rules of
Christianity in the New Testament, in the example
and maxims of Christ; for which cause it pleased
our glorious Redeemer more than once to give
them.

Every

Every Christian, as far as he keeps to his own rules, will be so far a gentleman, a real nobleman, a man of honour and dignity.

4. Study chiefly the ethics of the Bible, and consult all books of a truly Evangelical and practical strain; such as the *Verus Christianismus* of the good John Arndt, whereby thousands have been brought into the life of God.

5. A wise observation of the beauties and blemishes of what you see passes in the conversation of wise, learned, and worthy men, with an imitation of their amiable politeness, and a steady avoidance of their errors and defects, is the best way to learn the rules of behaviour.

VI. *Telling good Stories—and asking prudent Questions.*

1. Select from all books, and times, and ages, the most striking facts, events, and characters. Lay up a vast and inexhaustible stock of them in your memory.

2. Labour for the art, the skill, and beautiful address of telling these stories handsomely—and with a deliberate, expressive, unflinching brevity: and if you produce the stories on many occasions, you may not only ingratiate yourself wherever you make your appearance, but also obtain almost any request that you shall make one of them a witty introduction to.

The precious stones that every one sets a value on, are called Pleasant Stones; but let not your pleasantry degenerate into any unbecoming levity. For ever so regulate it, and so moderate it, that it may gracefully terminate in the most serious discourse, and inculcate and insinuate some serious wise maxim.

As to weighty and useful Questions.

3. Be always furnished with a large stock of weighty and useful questions, especially in your younger years.

Propose some of these select questions, in an humble and modest manner, in almost every company.

Alsted's astonishing Encyclopædia will furnish you with ten thousand good questions. See his contents of every science in the form of questions. See some hundreds of good questions in Dr. William Ames's Cases of Conscience—in Alsted's Cases—in Keache's Tropologia—in Dr. Doddridge's Lectures—in Dr. Gill's Body of Divinity.

VII. *Forming Friendships, and keeping good Company.*

1. Be sociable, but throw away as little time as ever you can on the

Temporis fures,

The thieves of time,

especially upon impertinent company. Keep company, but such as are your superiors in wisdom, goodness, learning, piety, and age; your familiarity with whom will be reputable and serviceable to you.

2. Make choice of a bosom friend, but be exceedingly cautious and careful in your choice—be sure let it be some very wise, and good, and faithful person; a man of true tried honour and generous greatness, like Dr. Wilkins, one of the greatest of souls—and rarely commit any secrets to any persons but such as may have it as much for their interest as it is for yours, to keep them so.

VIII. *As to rash Anger and Revenge.*

1. Do nothing rashly. Acts 19.
Advise always with the Town Clerk of Ephesus.
2. Prudens qui Patiens, was a judge's motto.
Let it be yours. The wrath of man works not the righteousness of God.
3. There is nothing done so well in a passion—but what may be done better out of it.
4. There is a conspicuous wisdom in meekness.
See Mr. Henry's Golden Book on Meekness, 8vo.
5. If you find your spirit heated in discourse at any time, Now, now is the time for the bridle.
Pf. xxxix. 1.

There is danger even of a Moses, when his anger is moved, that he speak rashly.

6. Suppress rather than express too warm and hot resentments, whatever be the provocations.

There will be nothing lost by doing so. Nothing lost by a noble calmness and self-possession of soul.

Motos præstat componere fluctus.

7. If you feel a violent impulse hurrying you into an eager pursuit of any matter, be jealous, be afraid, lest you be led into temptation. Examine it over and over again and again, and be upon a most sedate weighing of the matter. See! See! be well assured that it is a thing that will not be repented of.

As to Disputes and Slanders.

8. Do not use your pen, and lose your time in erristic writings, or disputes managed by the pen and the press, any more than unquestionable duty and prudence makes to be absolutely necessary.

As to answering slanderer Coxcombs.

9. If calumnious quills or pens have publicly scratched you, *An respondendum semper calumniis?* No, no, no. Let them not know you have so much as read their follies. Shine on, regardless of the bats and owls. Instead of answering them, write such learned and useful books as will be of perpetual service to mankind, and standing monuments of your good sense and taste, learning and piety. This is the noble way of destroying slander.

Magnum contumeliæ remedium negligentia,

Sile et funestam dedisti plagam

10. Never forget, "That the malice of ill tongues, upon a good man, is only like a mouthful of smoke blown upon a diamond, which, though it clouds its beauty for the present, yet it is easily rubbed off, and the gem restored to its genuine lustre."

IX. *As to groveling Slavery to rich Tyrants and Lyars, sometimes miscalled Gentlemen and Noblemen.*

1. Let no man of quality engage and attach you so far to his interests, or to violent parties in politics, that you shall run the hazard of abating the zeal of your heart, the delight of your studies, the success of your ministry, and of abridging your opportunities of doing good to thousands upon his account.

These lying rich men will cruelly desert you when their base views are answered, and when they have made you their slave and dog to do their dirty work.

Let

Let not my children put confidence in rich men
for a thousand worlds.

Factions in Civil Government.

2. If any factions arise in the commonwealth, which solicit your engagement in them, keep close to the business of your ministry, and your noble sublime studies in the Scriptures, and the sciences, and say, "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down, Why should the work cease for you?"

Contentions in the Churches of Christ.

3. In public transactions, and especially when any thing is driving about which the people of God may be divided in their sentiments, (as in 1719).

Let there be a continual terror of God upon you, lest you unawares fall in with something that may be unfriendly or detrimental to the kingdom of God. Be very thoughtful and very prayerful on such occasions.

X. Gain Good by all Reproaches and Injuries.

1. Gain by every thing that befalls you; by all events, painful, pleasant, smiling or frowning dispensations.

Let reproaches make you consider, To what excellent virtue, or grace, and action, would God awaken me to by this? Yea, let all disasters make you consider, What admonition does my God now send to me? What is God's prudent design and intention towards me?

All things shall work together for good. See Charnock's demonstration of this in his admirable *Treatise on Providence*.

Short

XXV. *Short Sketches of the most illustrious Men of all Ages, viz. Divines, Philosophers, Historians, Physicians, Lawyers, Statesmen, Warriors, Orators, Poets, Grammarians, Antiquarians, and Artists.*

D I V I N E S.

A

Abadie James, an eminent Protestant divine, born at Hay, in Berne, in the year 1658. He was taken ill in London, and died at Mary-le-Bone on the 23d of September, 1727.

Ainsworth Henry. His death was sudden, and not without suspicion of violence.

Allix Peter, a learned and eminent Protestant divine, born at Alencon, in France, in the year 1641. Dr. Allix died at London, February 21, 1717, in the 76th year of his age.

Alsted John-Henry, a German Protestant divine of the seventeenth century. He died in 1638, in the 50th year of his age.

Ambrose St. Bishop of Milan, born at Gaul, in the year 333, according to Dr. Cave, or in 340, as Mr. Du Pin affirms. He died at Milan the 4th of April, 397, in the 57th year of his age. He was buried in the great church at Milan.

Amyraut, or *Amyrald Moses*, an eminent French divine, born at Bourgueil, a small town of Touraine, in September, 1596. He died the 8th of February, 1664, and was interred with the usual ceremonies of the Academy.

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, an Italian by birth, born at Aost, a town belonging to the Duke of Savoy, in the year 1033. He died at Canterbury on the 21st of April, 1109, in the 76th year of his age.

Aquinas

Aquinas St. Thomas. He was born in the castle of Aquins, in the Terra di Lavoro, in Italy about the year 1224. He fell sick on his journey, at the monastery of Fossanova, near Terracina, where he died the 7th of March, the same year, in the 50th year of his age.

Arndt John, a famous Protestant divine of Germany, born at Ballenstad, in the Duchy of Anhalt, in the year 1555. He died in 1621.

Arnobius, an ancient Christian Apologist.

Atterbury Francis, Bishop of Rochester, born at Milton Keynes, near Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire, on the 6th of March, 1662. He died at Paris, the 17th of February, 1731. His body was brought over to England, and interred the 12th of May following, in Westminster Abbey.

Augustin St. a famous Christian father. He lived anno 400.

Abernethy John, an eminent Dissenting Minister in Ireland, was born October 19, 1680. He died in December, 1740, in the 60th year of his age.

Athanasius St. was born at Alexandria about the beginning of the fourth century. He died in peace and tranquillity in the year 371, after having been Bishop forty-six years.

B

Bates William, an eminent Nonconformist divine, born in November, 1625. He died July 19, 1699, in the 74th year of his age.

Baxter Richard, an eminent Non-conformist divine, born at Rowton, near High-Ercal, in Shropshire, November 12, 1615. He died December the 8th, 1691, and was interred in Christ Church.

Bedell William, a very famous prelate, and Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, born in 1570, at Black-Notley, in the county of Essex. He died on the 7th of February, 1641.

Beveridge

Beveridge William, a learned English divine, born at Barrow, in Leicestershire, in the year 1638.

Beza Theodore, a most zealous promoter and defender of the reformed church, born at Vezelai, in Burgundy, June 24, 1519. He died the 13th of October, 1605.

Bossuet James, Bishop of Meaux, born at Dijon, the 27th of September, 1627. He died at Paris, the 12th of April, 1704, in the 76th year of his age, and was buried at Meaux.

Bourdaloue Louis, was born in Bourges, on the 20th of August, 1632. He died on the 13th of May, 1704, in the 72d year of his age.

Bull George, Bishop of St. David's, born at Wells, in Somersetshire, March 25, 1634. He died February 17, 1709.

Bull John, born about the year 1563.

Bunyan John, author of the justly admired allegory of the Pilgrim's Progress, was born at Elstow, near Bedford, in the year 1628. He died in London, of a fever, on the 31st of August, 1688, in the 60th year of his age.

Burnet Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, was born at Edinburgh, September 18, 1643. He died March 17, 1714-15, in the 72d year of his age, and was interred in the parish church of St. James's Clerkenwell.

Burnet Thomas, was born in Scotland.

Burkitt William, a celebrated commentator on the New Testament, was born at Hitcham, in Northamptonshire, July 25, 1650. He died in the latter end of October, 1703.

Berriman Dr. William, was born September 24, 1688. He died February 5, 1749-50, in the 62d year of his age.

Blackhall, an eminent English divine, was born in London, in the year 1654. He died at Exeter,
November

November 29, 1716, and was interred in the cathedral there.

Butler Joseph, late Bishop of Durham, was born in the year 1692. He died at Bath, June 16, 1752, and was interred at the cathedral at Bristol.

C

Calamy Edmund, an eminent Presbyterian divine, was born at London, in February 1600. The sight of London in ashes, which he lived to see, broke his heart. He died October 29, 1666.

Calasio Marius, compiler of the great Hebrew Concordance, 4 vols. folio.

Calvin John, one of the chief reformers of the church in the 16th century, was born at Noyon, in Picardy, July 10, 1509. He died May 27, 1564.

Cartwright William, was born at Northway, near Tewksbury, in Gloucestershire, in September 1611. He died on the 23d of December, 1643, in the 33d year of his age.

Charron Peter, was born at Paris, in the year 1541. He died at Paris, of an apoplexy, on the 16th of November, 1603.

Cheynelle Francis, was born at Oxford, about the middle of the year 1608. He died at an obscure village, called Preston, in Suffex, in September 1665.

Chillingworth William, a divine of the church of England, was born at Oxford, in October 1602.

Chrysoloras Emanuel, one of those learned men in the 14th century, was born at Constantinople, as is supposed, about the year 1355. He died the 15th of April, 1415. He was buried at Constance.

Chrysostom John, so called from his eloquence, was born at Antioch, of a noble family, about the year 354. He died in the year 417.

Clarke Dr. Samuel, was born at Norwich, October 11, 1675. He died on the 17th of May, 1729, in the 54th year of his age.

Clemens Romanus, an excellent Christian father.

Colet Dr. John, an eminent and learned English divine, was born in the parish of St. Antholin, London, in the year 1466. He died on the 16th of September, 1519, in the 53d year of his age.

Collier Jeremy, an eminent English divine, was born at Stow Qui in Cambridgeshire, September 23, 1650. He died of the stone, upon the 26th of April, 1726, in the 76th year of his age, and was interred in St. Pancras church-yard, near London.

Conant Dr. John, a learned and eminent English divine, was born at Yeatenton, in Devonshire, the 18th of October, in the year 1608. He died the 12th of March, 1693, in the 86th year of his age, at Northampton.

Cooper Thomas, a learned English bishop, was born at Oxford, about the year 1517. He died at Winchester, on the 29th of April, 1594. and was buried in the cathedral there.

Cosin John, an eminent English prelate, was born at Norwich, on the 30th of November, 1594. He died the 15th of January, 1671-2, in the 78th year of his age, author of the History of the Cannon of Scripture.

Cudworth Ralph, a very learned English divine, born at Aller, in Somersetshire, in the year 1617. He died the 26th of June, 1688, in the 71st year of his age.

Cumberland Dr. Richard, a very learned English divine, and Bishop of Peterborough, was born in the city of London, the 15th of July, 1632. He died the 9th of October, 1718, in the 87th year of his age.

Cyprianus Thascius Cæcilius, a principal father of the Christian Church, was born at Carthage, in Africa,

Africa, at the latter end of the second, or the beginning of the third century. He died on the 14th of September, in the year 258.

Cyrano Bergerac, a French author of a very particular character, was born in Gascony, about the year 1620. He died in 1655, aged only 35 years.

Eyrill of Alexandria, a Christian father.

Charnock Stephen, a most judicious and eloquent divine, author of Discourses on the Attributes of God.

Chandler Dr. Samuel, a Dissenting minister in London. See his Life and Sermons.

D

Daille John, minister of the church of Paris, was born at Chatelleraunt, upon the 6th of January, 1594. He died at Paris, the 15th of April, 1670.

Damascenus John, an illustrious father of the church in the 8th century, was born at Damascus. He died about the year 750.

Davenant John, Bishop of Salisbury, and a very learned man, born in Watling-street, London, about the year 1570. He died of a consumption, the 20th of April, 1611, and was buried in Salisbury cathedral.

Dawes Sir William, an eminent prelate of the Church of England, was born at Lyons, near Braintree in Essex, the 12th of September, 1671. He died the 30th of April, 1724, in the 53d year of his age.

Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth suffered martyrdom about the year 178.

Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, was born a Heathen.

Dodwell Henry, a most learned man, was born at Dublin, in October, 1641. He died at Sauttesbrooke, the 7th of June, 1711, in the 70th year of his age.

Drelincourt

Drelincourt Charles, minister of the church of Paris, and a very extraordinary man, was born at Sedan, the 10th of July, 1595. He died the 3d of November, 1669.

Drusius John, a man of very great learning among the Protestants, was born at Oudenard, in Flanders, the 28th of June, 1555. He died on the 12th of February, 1616.

Dupin Lewis-Ellis, a very learned doctor of the Sorbonne, was born at Paris, the 17th of June, 1657. He died the 6th of June, 1719, aged 62 years.

Doddridge Dr. Philip, was born in London, the 26th of June, 1702, and died October the 26th, 1751, aged 50.

Duchal James, a late pious and learned minister among the Dissenters, was born in Ireland. He died the 4th of May, 1761, in the 64th year of his age.

E

Edwards Dr. Jonathan, a learned English divine.

Emlyn Thomas, a learned Arian or Socinian, born at Stamford in Lincolnshire, the 27th of May, 1663. He died in the year 1756.

Eusden Lawrence, was born in Ireland. He died at his rectory at Conesby, in Lincolnshire, the 27th of September, 1730.

Evans John, author of the Christian Temper.

F

Faucheur Michael Le, a very celebrated minister among the Protestants in France in the 17th century. He died at Paris, the 1st of April, 1657.

Felix Minutius, a father of the primitive church, who flourished in the beginning of the 3d century, about the year 220.

Fenelon Francis de Salignac de la Motte, Archbishop of Cambray, was born at the castle of Fenelon,

nelon, in the province of Perigord, August 6, 1651. He died in the beginning of January, 1715, in the 63d year of his age.

Fiddes Richard, an eminent English divine, was born at Hunmanby, near Scarborough, in Yorkshire, in the year 1671. He died at Putney in the year 1725, in the 54th year of his age, and was buried in Fulham church-yard.

Fleetwood William, a very excellent English divine and bishop, was born in the Tower of London, on the 1st of January, 1656. He died at Tottenham in Middlesex, the 4th of August, 1723, and was interred in the cathedral church of Ely.

Fowler Edward, an eminent English divine, and Bishop of Gloucester, was born at Westerleigh, in that county, in the year 1632. He died at Chelsea, the 26th of August, 1714, in the 82d year of his age.

Felton Dr. Henry, the elegant and masculine author of a Dissertation on the Classics, and some admirable sermons against Infidels.

G

Gale John, a learned divine, was born at London, the 26th of May, 1680. He died in December, 1721, aged 42.

Gale Theophilus, a learned divine, was born at Kings-eignton in Devonshire, in the year 1628. He died about March, in the year 1678, aged 50.

Gastrel Francis, Bishop of Chester, was born at Slapton, in Northamptonshire, about the year 1662. He died November the 24th, 1725, in the 62d or 63d year of his age.

Gibson Edmund, Bishop of London, was born at Knipe, in Westmoreland, in the year 1669. He died on the 6th of September, 1748, aged 79.

Gilpin Bernard, a very worthy and exemplary parish priest in England, was born at Kentmire, in

1517. He died the 4th of March, 1583, in the 66th year of his age.

Grabe John Earnest, a learned editor of the Septuagint from the Alexandrian manuscript, in the King of England's palace at St. James's. He died the 13th of November, 1712.

Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome about 600.

Gregory John, a very learned divine of the English church, was born at Agmondesham, in Buckinghamshire, November 10, 1607. He died the 13th of March, 1646.

Grew Obadiah, a worthy parish priest in England, was born at Atherston, in the parish of Manchester, in Warwickshire, in November 1607. He died at Coventry, October the 22d, 1689.

Grindal Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Hinsingham, in the parish of St. Begh's, in Cowpland, a small village in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1519. He died at Croydon, the 6th of July, 1583, and was interred in that church.

Grove Henry, a learned divine among the English Presbyterians. He was born at Taunton, in Somersetshire, January the 4th, 1683. He died the 27th of February, 1737-8.

Gunning Peter, Bishop of Ely, was born at Hoo, in Kent, January 11, 1613. He died July the 6th, 1684, and was interred in the cathedral of Ely.

H

Hughes Obadiah, a Dissenting minister in London.

Hacket John, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, was born in London, the 1st of September, 1592. He died at Litchfield, the 28th of October, 1670, and was buried in the cathedral.

Hakewill

Hakewill George, an ingenious and learned English divine, was born at Exeter, in the year 1579. He died in April, 1649.

Hales John, usually called the Ever Memory, was born at Bath, in Somersetshire, in the year 1584. He died the 19th of May, 1656, aged 72.

Hall Joseph, Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, was born in Bristow Park, within the parish of Allby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire, July 1, 1574. He died the 8th of September, 1656, in the 82d year of his age.

Hammond Dr. Henry, a most learned and pious English divine, was born at Chertsey, in Surry, the 18th of August, 1605. He died in the year 1743.

Hody Humphrey, an eminent English divine, was born at Odcombe, in the county of Somerset, the 1st of January, 1659. He died the 20th of January, 1706.

Hooker Richard, an eminent English divine, was born at Heavy-tree, near Exeter, about the time of Easter, 1554. He died the 2d of November, 1600.

Hooper Dr. George, an eminent English divine, was born at Grimley, in Worcestershire, about the year 1640. He died at Barkley, in Somersetshire, the 6th of September, 1627.

Hoornbeeck John, a most illustrious divine in Holland, was born at Haerlem, in 1617. He died in September, 1666.

Hopkins Ezekiel, an English bishop, was born at Sandford, in Devonshire, in 1633. He died the 19th of June, 1690.

Horneck Dr. Anthony, a very learned and pious divine, was born at Baccharack, a town in the Lower Palatinate, in the year 1641. He died the 31st of January, 1696, in the 56th year of his age.

Hottinger John-Henry, a very learned writer, was born at Zurich, in Switzerland, the 10th of March,

March, 1620. He was drowned the 5th of June, 1667.

Haugh John, Bishop of Worcester, was born in the County of Middlesex, in the year 1650. He died the 8th of March, 1743.

Howe John, a very learned English Non-conformist divine, was born at Loughborough, in Leicestershire, the 17th of May, 1630. He died at London, the 2d of April, 1705.

Huet Peter-Daniel, Bishop of Avranches, in France, was born at Caen, in Normandy, the 8th of February, 1630. He died January the 26th, 1721, in the 91st year of his age.

Hufs John, a very celebrated divine and martyr, was born at a town in Bohemia, called Hussenitz, about the year 1376. He was burnt alive the 6th of July, 1415.

Hales Stephen, was born in Kent, in the year 1677. He died the 4th of January, 1761, aged 84.

Hare Francis, a late learned prelate, editor of the Hebrew Psalms, 2 vols. 8vo.

Henry Matthew, an eminent Dissenting teacher, and most excellent expositor, born in the year 1662. He died at Nantwich, in the year 1714.

Herring Dr. Thomas, was born at Walsoken, in Norfolk, 1693. He died March the 13th, 1757.

Hervev James, a late divine of exemplary virtue and piety, was born at Hardington, in Northamptonshire, in the year 1714. He died on Christmas-day, 1758, in the 45th year of his age, author of Meditations among the Tombs, and Theron and Aspasio.

I

Jachiades, or *Rabbi Joseph Ben Joseph Jachaia*, a famous rabbi of the 16th century, was born at Lisbon, and died at the age of 45 years.

Jansen Cornelius, Bishop of Ypres, one of the most learned divines of the 17th century, was born in a village called Accoy, or Akoy, near Leerdam, in Holland. He died the 16th of May, 1638.

Jenkin Robert, a learned English divine, was born at Thanet, in Kent, in January 1656. He died April the 7th, 1727.

Jerome Saint, a celebrated doctor of the church, was born at Stridon, a town upon the borders of Dalmatia, and the ancient Pannonia, about the year of Christ 340. He died in September, 420, aged 78 or 80 years.

Jewel John, a learned English bishop, was born at Buden, in the parish of Beringol, in Devonshire, in May 1522. He died in September, 1571, in the 50th year of his age.

Ignatius, surnamed *Theophrastus*, one of the apostolical fathers of the church, was born in Syria. He was devoured by lions the 20th of December.

Illyricus Matthias Flacius, or *Francowitz*, one of the most learned divines of the Augsbург confession, was born at Albona, in Istria, anciently called Illyria, the 3d of March, 1520. He died at Frankfort, upon the Main, March 11, 1575.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in France, was born at or near the city of Smyrna.

Isidore Saint. See the dictionaries.

K

Kempis Thomas, famous for his transcendent piety and devotion, was born at Kempen, a city in the diocese of Cologn, about the year 1380. He died the 24th of July, 1471.

Kenn Thomas, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was born at Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, in July 1637. He died the 19th of March, 1710-11.

Kennet Dr. White, Bishop of Peterborough, was born at Dover, the 10th of August, 1660. He died the 19th of December, 1728.

Kennet Basil, was born at Postling, in Kent, the 21st of October, 1674.

Kettlewell John, an English divine, was born at Northallerton, in the county of York the 10th of March, 1653. He died the 12th of April, 1695, aged 42.

Kidder Richard, bishop, author of the *Demonstration of the Messiah*.

King Dr. William, an eminent divine, and archbishop of Dublin, was born at Antrim, in Ireland, the 1st of May, 1650. He died the 8th of May, 1729.

L

Lactantius, an ancient writer, styled the Christian Cicero.

Lamy Bernard, a learned French Protestant divine, was born at Mans, in the year 1640. He died January the 29th, 1715, aged 75.

Latimer Hugh, Bishop of Worcester, one of the first Reformers of the church of England, was born in the year 1470.

Laud William, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born in St. Lawrence's parish in Reading, October the 7th, 1573.

Leng Dr. John, Bishop of Norwich, one of the clearest reasoners in the world.

Limborch Philip, was born at Amsterdam, the 19th of June, 1633. He died the 30th of April, 1712.

Languet John Baptist Joseph, was born at Dijon, the 6th of June, 1675. He died the 11th of October, 1750, in the 75th year of his age, a benevolent divine.

Leighton Robert, an eminent Scotch divine.

Leland John, was born at Wigan, in Lancashire, in the year 1691.

Lowth William, was born in the parish of St. Martin's, Ludgate, September 11, 1661. He died May 17, 1732.

Lloyd William, bishop, was born at Tilehurst, in Berkshire, in 1627. He died at Hartlebury Castle, August 30, 1717.

Lombard Peter, was born at Novara, a town of Italy, in Lombardy. He died in the year 1164.

Loyola Ignatius, was born at Loyola, in the province of Guipuscoa, in Spain. He died the 31st of July, 1556.

Lucas Richard, a learned English divine, was born in Radnorshire, in 1648. He died the 29th of June, 1715.

Luther Martin, an illustrious German divine, was born at Isleben, a town of Saxony, in the county of Mansfield, the 10th of November, 1483. He died in the year 1546.

M

Maldonat John, a Spanish Jesuit, was born at Fuente del Maestro, a small village in the province of Estramadura, in 1534. He died in 1583.

Marets Samuel Des, a celebrated divine, was born at Oisemond, in Picardy, August 9, 1599. He died the 18th of May, 1673.

Mather Dr. Cotton, an eminent divine, was born at Boston, in New-England, the 12th of February, 1662-3. He died the 13th of February, 1727-8, aged 65.

Mede Joseph, a most learned English divine, was born in October, 1586.

Melancthon, was born at Bretten, in the palatinate of the Rhine, the 16th of February, 1497. He died April the 19th, 1560, aged 64.

Melito, Bishop of Sardis, in Asia.

Middleton Dr. Conyers, a very celebrated English divine, was born at Richmond, in the county of York, the 27th of December, 1683. He died the 28th of July, 1750, aged 67.

Mill John, a learned English divine, was born at Shap, in Westmoreland, about the year 1645. He died the 23d of June, 1707.

Molinæus Peter, or *Peter du Moulin*, a very celebrated French Protestant minister, was born at Vexin, the 18th of October, 1568. He died the 10th of March, 1658.

Molinos Michael, a famous Partisan.

More Dr. Henry, an eminent English divine and philosopher, was born at Grantham, in Lincolnshire, October the 12th, 1614. He died the 1st of September, 1687, aged 73.

Morley Dr. George, a learned English bishop, was born in Cheapside, London, the 27th of February, 1597. He died the 29th of October, 1684, aged 86.

Mornay Philip De, was born at Buki, in Vexin, the 5th of November, 1549. He died in November, 1623.

Moss Robert, a learned English divine, was born at Gillingham, in Norfolk, about the year 1667. He died the 26th of March, 1729, aged 63.

Munster Sebastian, an eminent German divine, was born at Inghelheim, in the year 1489. He died of the plague at Basil, in 1552, aged 63.

N

Nelson Robert, was born at London, the 22d of June, 1656. He died the 16th of January, 1714-15, aged 59.

Noldius Christian, an eminent Danish divine, was born the 22d of June, 1626. He died August the 22d, 1673.

Noris Henry, cardinal, was born at Verora, August the 29th, 1631. He died at Rome, in 1704.

Norris John, a learned English divine, was born at Collingborne Kington, in Wiltshire, in 1657. He died in 1711.

Novatian, a Roman priest.

Nye Philip, an English Non-conformist, was born about the year 1596. He died in September, 1672.

O

Ochinus Bernardin, a celebrated preacher in the sixteenth century, was born at Siene, in Italy, 1487. He died in the year 1564, aged 77.

Oecolampadius John, an eminent German divine, was born in the year 1482. He died in December, 1531, aged 49.

Origen, a most illustrious father of the church, was born at Alexandria, in Egypt, about the year 185. He died at Tyre, aged 69 years.

Offat Arnaud, was born August 23, 1536. He died in the year 1604, aged 68.

Owen Dr John, an eminent English divine, was born at Hadham, in Oxfordshire, in 1616. He died the 24th of August, 1683, in the 67th year of his age.

P

Pagninus Sanctes, was born at Lucca, in 1466. He died in 1536, aged 70.

Patrick

Patrick Simon, a very learned English bishop, was born at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, the 8th of September, 1626. He died at Ely, the 31st of May, 1707, in the 81st year of his age.

Paul Father, a most illustrious and excellent person, was born at Venice, the 14th of August, 1552. He died in 1623.

Paulinus, was born at Bourdeaux, about the year 353.

Pearson John, Bishop of Chester, was born at Snoaring, February 12, 1612. He died at Chester, July 16, 1686.

Pocock Dr. Edward, a most learned Englishman, was born in the city of Oxford, the 8th of November, 1604. He died the 10th of September, 1691, in the 87th year of his age.

Polycarp, an apostolic father of the Christian church, was born towards the latter end of Nero's reign.

Pool Matthew, an eminent Non-conformist minister, was born at York, in 1624.

Parker Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Norwich, in 1504. He died the 17th of May, 1575, aged 72.

Potter John, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, about 1674. He died in 1747.

Prideaux John, a learned English bishop, was born at Stowford, in Devonshire, September 17, 1578. He died the 30th of July, 1650.

Prideaux Humphrey, an English divine, was born at Podstoro, in Cornwall, the 3d of May, 1648. He died the 1st of November, 1724.

Purchas Samuel, a writer of curiosities.

Q

Quadratus, Bishop of Athens, where he was born, or at least educated, about the year 125.

Quesnel,

Quesnel, a celebrated priest of the oratory in France, was born at Paris, in 1634. He died in 1694.

R

Rainolds John, an eminent English divine, was born at Pinto, in Devonshire, in 1549. He died in 1607.

Rogers Dr. John, an English divine, was born at Ensham, in Oxfordshire, in 1679. He died the 1st of May, 1729. aged 50.

Ridley Dr. Nicholas, Bishop and a martyr.

S

Salvian. See the Biographic Dictionaries.

Sancroft Dr. William, an eminent English prelate, was born at Fressingfield, in Suffolk, the 30th of January, 1616. He died the 24th of November, 1693.

Sanderfon Dr. Robert, an eminent English bishop, was born at Rotherham, in Yorkshire, the 19th of September, 1587. He died the 29th of January, 1662-3, aged 76.

Savonarola Jerom, a famous Italian monk, was born at Ferrara, in 1452.

Sherlock Dr. William, an English divine, was born in Southwark, about the year 1641. He died the 19th of June, 1707, aged 67.

Smalridge Dr. George, an English prelate, was born at Litchfield, in Staffordshire, about the year 1666. He died the 27th of September, 1719.

Smith John, a very learned English divine, was born at Achurch, near Oundle, in Northamptonshire, in the year 1618. He died the 7th of August, 1652, author of *Select Discourses*, in 4to.

South Dr. Robert, an English divine, was born at Hackney, in Middlesex, in the year 1633. He died the 8th of July, 1716.

Spanheim

Spanheim Frederic, professor of divinity, was born at Amberg, in the Upper Palatinate, the 1st of January, 1600. He died in May, 1649.

Spanheim Frederic, was born at Geneva, the 1st of May, 1632. He died the 18th of May, 1701.

Spinckes Nathaniel, an eminent Non-juring English divine, was born at Castor, in Northamptonshire, in the year 1653. He died the 28th of July, 1727.

Sprat Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Rochester, was born at Tallaton, in Devonshire, in the year 1636. He died the 20th of May, 1713.

Stillington Dr. Edward, was born at Cranbourn, in Dorsetshire, the 17th of April, 1635. He died the 27th of March, 1699.

Synsius, Bishop of the Christian church, was born at Cyrene, in Africa, a town situated upon the borders of Egypt.

Saurin James, a famous French divine and orator.

Seed Jeremiab, was born at Clifton, near Penrith, in Cumberland. He died in the year 1747.

Synge Edward, Archbishop of Tuam, in Ireland, was born at Inishonane, the 6th of April, 1659. He died in the year 1741.

T

Tanner Dr. Thomas, an English prelate, was born in the year 1674. He died in the year 1735.

Tatian, a Christian father

Taylor Dr. Jeremy, an English divine, was born in the beginning of the 17th century. He died the 13th of August, 1667.

Tennison Dr. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, the 29th of September, 1636. He died the 14th of December, 1715.

Tertullian

Tertullian Quintus Septimus Florens, was born at Carthage, about the middle of the 2d century.

Theodoret, an illustrious writer of the church, was born at Antioch, about the year 386. He died in 457.

Theophilus, Bishop of the primitive church, was born and educated a Heathen, and afterwards converted to Christianity.

Tillotson Dr. John, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire, about October 1630. He died the 24th of November, 1694, aged 65.

Tindal Dr. Matthew, a Deistical writer, was born at Beer-ferres, in Devonshire, about the year 1657. He died in August, 1733.

Trapp Joseph, an English divine, was born at Cherington, in Gloucestershire, in the year 1679. He died in November, 1747.

Tyndale William, a most zealous English Reformer, was born on the borders of Wales, some time before the year 1500. He was martyred in the year 1536.

Theophylact, a Christian father.

U

Usher James, Archbishop of Armagh, in Ireland, was born at Dublin, the 4th of January, 1580. He died the 21st of March, 1655-6.

W

Wake Dr. William, an eminent English prelate, was born in the year 1657. He died the 24th of January, 1736-7. He was Archbishop of Canterbury.

Wallis Dr. John, was born at Ashford, in Kent, November 23, 1616. He died the 28th of October, 1703, aged 88.

Walton

Walton Brian, a learned English bishop, was born at Cleveland, in the North-Riding of Yorkshire, in 1600. He died the 29th of November, 1661.

Ward Seth, an English prelate, a bitter persecutor.

Wetstein John-James, a very learned divine of Germany, was born at Basil, the 5th of March, 1693. He died the 24th of March, 1754.

Whichcote Sir George, a divine, was born at Breda, in Holland, in the year 1650. He died the 18th of February, 1723.

Whiston William, an English mathematician and divine, was born the 9th of December, 1667. He died the 22d of August, 1752.

Whitby Daniel, a learned English divine, was born at Rushden, in Northamptonshire, in the year 1638. He died the 24th of March, 1725-6, aged 88.

Whitgift John, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, in 1530. He died the 29th of February, 1603-4.

Wickliff John, a professor of divinity, was born in the northern part of England, about the year 1324. He died in the year 1384.

Wilkins John, a most ingenious and learned English bishop, was born at Fawlessey, near Daventry, in Northamptonshire, in 1614. He died the 19th of November, 1672.

Witsius Herman, a very learned and eminent divine of North Holland, was born at Enckhuysen, in the year 1636. He died in the year 1708.

Wykeham William, an English prelate, was born at Wykeham, in Hampshire, in the year 1324. He died the 27th of September, 1404.

Z

Zuinglius Ulrius, an able and zealous Reformer of the church, was born at Wildehaufen, in Switzerland,

zerland, the 1st of January, 1487. He died in October, 1531.

Zanchy, a masculine Protestant divine. See his Life, by the Rev. Mr. Augustus Toplady.

PHILOSOPHERS.

A

Addison Joseph, son of Dr. Addison. He was born the 1st of May, 1672, at Ambresbury, in the county of Wilts. He died at Holland-house, near Kensington, on the 17th of June, 1719, in the 54th year of his age.

Alfred the Great, the youngest son of Æthelwolf, King of the West Saxons, was born in the year 849, at Wannating, or Wanading, which is supposed to be Wantage, in Berkshire. He died on the 28th of October, 900. He was buried in the cathedral of Winchester.

Archimedes, a celebrated geometrician, was born at Syracuse, in the island of Sicily, and is said to have been killed in the 143d Olympiad, and 546th year of Rome, about two hundred and eight years before the birth of Christ.

Ascham Roger, an eminent English writer, was born at Kirkby-Wiske, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire, about the year 1515. He died on the 4th of January, 1560, and was interred in St. Sepulchre's church, in a private manner, according to his own directions.

B

Bacon Roger, was born near Ilchester, in Somersetshire, in the year 1214.

Bacon Francis, Viscount St. Alban's, and Lord High Chancellor of England, was born at York-house,

house, in the Strand, on the 22d of January, 1561. He died April 9, 1626, at the Earl of Arundel's house, at Highgate, of a fever, and lies buried in St. Michael's church, at St. Alban's.

Barheyrac John, was born the 15th of March, 1674, at Beriers, a city of Lower Languedoc, in France.

Barrow Isaac, an eminent mathematician and divine, was born in London, October 1630. He died of a fever, the 4th of May, 1677, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey.

Bentley Richard, an eminent critick and divine, was born in the year 1662. He died in his lodge, at Trinity College, Cambridge, July 14, 1742, in the 80th year of his age, and was buried in that chapel.

Bernoulli James, a celebrated mathematician, was born at Basil, the 27th of December, 1654. He died the 16th of August, 1705, in the 58th year of his age.

Borelli John Alphonso, a famous philosopher and mathematician, was born at Naples, the 28th of January, 1608. He died there of a pleurisy, the 31st of December, 1679, in the 72d year of his age.

Briggs Henry, one of the greatest mathematicians of the 16th century, was born at Warley Wood, in the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire, about the year 1556. He died September 4, 1704.

Bruyere John De La, a celebrated French author, was born at Dowrdan, in the year 1664, and died in the year 1696.

Busby Richard, a very eminent schoolmaster, was born at Lutton, in Lincolnshire, September 22, 1606. He died April 6, 1695, in the 89th year of his age, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey.

Barratier Philip, was born at Schwobach, near Nuremburgh, in the Margravate of Brandenburg Anspach,

Anspach, January 10, 1721. He died October 5, 1740, at the age of 19 years 8 months and 16 days.

Berkeley George, the celebrated Bishop of Cloyne.

Bradley James, was born at Shireborn, in the county of Gloucester, in the year 1692. He died at Chalford, in Gloucestershire, July 13, 1762, in the 70th year of his age, and lies interred at Minchinhampton, in the same county.

Butler Joseph, late bishop of Durham, was born in the year 1692. He died at Bath, June 16, 1752, and was interred at the cathedral at Bristol.

Baxter, the great philosopher, author of *Matho*.

C

Cartes Rene Des, an eminent philosopher and mathematician of the 17th century, was born at La Haye, in Touraine, March 31, 1596. He died February 11, 1650, in the 54th year of his age.

Chambers Ephraim, F. R. S. an eminent philosopher, author of *Cyclopædia*, died May 15, 1740.

Copernicus Nicholas, an eminent astronomer, was born at Thorn, in Prussia, on the 19th of January, in the year 1472. He died the 24th of May, 1543, in the 70th year of his age.

Carpentier Francis, a French writer of the *Life of Socrates*.

D

Déchaies Claudius Francis Milliet, an excellent mathematician, mechanic, and astronomer, was born at Chamberry, the capital of Savoy, in the year 1611. He died in the University of Turin, the 28th of March, 1678, aged 67.

Derham William, an excellent English philosopher and divine, was born at Stowton, near Worcester, the 26th of November, 1657. He died the

5th of April, 1735, in the 78th year of his age, at Upminster, where he was buried.

Desaguliers John-Theophilus, was born at Rochelle, March 12, 1683. He died in the year 1749.

E

Epictetus, a celebrated philosopher of antiquity, was born near the end of Nero's reign.

Euclid, a most celebrated mathematician and astronomer, collector of the Fifteen Books of Elements of Geometry.

F

Flamsteed John, a most eminent English astronomer, was born at Denby, in Derbyshire, the 19th of August, 1646. He died the 31st of December, 1719.

Fordyce David, author of the Elements of Moral Philosophy, 12mo.

G

Galilei, or *Galileo*, an eminent astronomer in Italy.

Grotius Hugo, was born at Delft, on Easter-day, April 10, 1583. He died August 28, 1645.

Gruter James, or *John*, a celebrated philosopher, was born in the city of Antwerp, in Brabant, December 3, 1560. He died the 20th of September, 1627.

Gunter Edmund, an eminent English mathematician, was born in the county of Hereford, in the year 1581. He died December 10, 1626, about the 45th year of his age.

Gravesande William-James, was born at Delft, in Holland, in the year 1688.

H

Halley Edmund, a most eminent English philosopher and astronomer, was born in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, near London, the 29th of October, 1656. He died the 14th of January, 1741-2, in the 86th year of his age.

Hamel John Baptiste Du, an eminent French philosopher and divine, was born at Vire, in Lower Normandy, in the year 1624. He died at Paris, the 6th of August, 1706.

Helvicus Christopher, a famous chronologer.

Hevelius John, a very celebrated astronomer and mathematician, was born at Dantzick, a town in the King of Prussia's dominions, the 28th of January, 1611. He died the 28th of January, 1687.

Hipparchia, a celebrated philosophical lady, was born at Maronea, a city of Thrace.

Hooke Robert, an eminent English mathematician and philosopher, was born at Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, the 18th of July, 1635. He died the 3d of March, 1702.

Horrox Jeremiah, an eminent English astronomer, was born at Foxteth, near Liverpool, in Lancashire, about the year 1619. He died the 3d of January, 1640-1.

Hutcheson Dr. Francis, was born in the North of Ireland, the 8th of August, 1694, author of a System of Moral Philosophy, 2 vols. 4to.

Hutchinson John, was born at Spennythorn, in Yorkshire, in the year 1674. He died the 28th of August, 1737, aged 63.

Huygens Christian, a very great mathematician and astronomer, was born at the Hague, in Holland, the 14th of April, 1629. He died at the Hague, the 8th of June, 1695, in the 67th year of his age.

Hypatia, a most beautiful, virtuous, and learned philosophical lady, was born at the Platonic school at Alexandria, in the latter part of the fourth century.

I

Jablonski Daniel Ernest, a learned Polish Protestant divine, was born at Dantzick, November the 20th, 1660. He died in May, 1741.

Jablonski Theodore. See Dictionary of Lives.

Jamblicus. See dictionary.

K

Keckermannus Bartholomæus, a very laborious and learned man, was born at Dantzick, in Prussia, the 25th of August, 1571. He died in the year 1609, aged 38.

Keill John, an eminent mathematician and philosopher, was born at Edinburgh, December 1, 1671. He died the 1st of September, 1721.

Keill James, an eminent philosopher and physician, was born in Scotland, the 25th of March, 1673. He died the 16th of July, 1719, and was buried in St. Giles's church at Northampton.

Kepler John, the greatest astronomer perhaps that any age has produced, was born at Wiel, in the Duchy of Wirtemberg, the 27th of December, 1571. He died at Ratisbon, in November, 1630; aged 59.

L

Leibnitz Godfrey William De, was born at Leipzig, July 4, 1646. He died the 14th of November, 1716, aged 70.

Leo X. Pope of Rome, and ever to be remembered by Protestants as having been the cause of the reformation begun by Luther, was born at Florence,
in

in the year 1475. He died the 2d of December, 1521, aged 45.

Lipsius Justus, a famous critic.

Locke John, a very celebrated philosopher, was born at Wrington, near Bristol, in 1632. He died the 28th of October, 1704, in the 73d year of his age.

M

Maclaurin Colin, a most eminent mathematician and philosopher, was born at Kilmoddan, in Scotland, in February, 1698. He died the 14th of June, 1746, aged 48.

Malebranche Nicholas, an eminent French philosopher, was born at Paris, August 6, 1638. He died October 13, 1715, aged 77.

Maximus Tyrius, a Platonic philosopher.

Mersennus Martin, was born at Oyse, in the province of Maine, September 8, 1588. He died September 1, 1648.

Molyneux William, Esq; an excellent mathematician and astronomer, was born in Ireland, the 17th of April, 1656. He died the 11th of October, 1698.

Molyneux Samuel, his son, was born at Chester, in July, 1689.

N

Nemestius, a Greek philosopher, was born at Emesa, in Phœnicia.

Newton Sir Isaac, an eminent English philosopher, mathematician, and historian, was born at Woolstrobe, in Lincolnshire, on Christmas-day, 1642, O. S. He died the 20th of March, 1726-7, aged 85.

Niceron John-Francis, was born at Paris, in 1613. He died at Aix, in Provence, the 22d of September, 1646, aged 33.

Nieuwenyt Bernard, an eminent Dutch philosopher and mathematician, was born at Westraadyt, or Westgraafdyk, in North Holland, the 10th of August, 1654.

O

Oldenburg Henry, was born in the Duchy of Bremen, in Lower Saxony. He died in August, 1678.

Oughtred William, was born at Eton, in Buckinghamshire, about 1573. He died about 1660, aged 86.

Ozanham James, an eminent French mathematician, was born in 1640. He died the 3d of April, 1717, aged 77.

P

Pardies Ignatius Gaston, was born in 1636.

Pelisson Paul, an elegant philosopher.

Pell John, an eminent English mathematician, was born at Southwyke, March 1, 1610.

Philo, a learned Jewish writer.

Phlegon See the Dictionaries of Biography.

Plato, a most illustrious philosopher of antiquity, was born at Athens, in the 88th Olympiad, and about 430 years before Christ.

Pliny the elder, author of Natural History.

Pliny the younger, a learned benevolent philosopher.

Plot Robert, a learned English philosopher and antiquarian, was born at Sutton Barn, of the parish of Borden, in Kent, in 1641. He died the 30th of April, 1696.

Plotinus, an illustrious Platonic philosopher, was born at Lycopolis, a city of Egypt, in the year 204. He died at Campania, at 66 years of age.

Polignac

Polignat Melchior De, a fine genius of France, and a cardinal, was born at Puy, the capital of Veley, in 1662. He died in 1741, aged 80.

Poiret, an amiable French poet and philosopher.

Proclus, an eminent philosopher, was born at Constantinople, in the year 410. He died in the year 485.

Pythagoras, was born at Sidon.

R

Ramus Peter, was born in a village of Vermandois, in Picardy, in 1515.

Ray, or *Wray John*, an eminent philosopher, was born near Braintree, in Essex, the 29th of November, 1628. He died the 17th of January, 1704-5.

Reaumur Rene Antoine Ferchault Sieur De, a French philosopher, was born at Rochelle, in 1683. He died in 1757.

Regiomontanus, an illustrious astronomer, was born at Konigsberg, in Franconia, anno 1436. He died in 1476.

Ricciolus Joannes Babilista, an Italian astronomer, mathematician, and philosopher, was born at Ferrara, in 1598. He died in 1671, aged 73.

Robins Benjamin, an English mathematician, was born at Bath, in Somersetshire, 1707. He died the 29th of July, 1751.

Robault James, a French philosopher, was born at Amiens, in 1620. He died in 1675.

S

Saunderson Nicholas, was born in January, 1682. He died the 19th of April, 1739, aged 57.

Socrates, the greatest of the antient philosophers, was born at Alopecce, a small village in Attica, in the 4th year of the 77th Olympiad, or about 467 years before Christ.

Stanley Thomas, Esq; was born at Cumberlow Green, in Hertfordshire, about the year 1644. He died in the year 1678.

T

Thalis, one of the first philosophers of Greece.

Theophrastus, a great philosopher of antiquity, was born in the city of Lesbos.

Torricelli Evangeliste, an illustrious mathematician and philosopher of Italy, was born at Faenza, the 15th of October, 1608. He died the 25th of October, 1647.

Tournefort Joseph Pitton De, was born at Aix, in Provence, the 5th of June, 1656. He died the 28th of December, 1708.

W

Wallis John, an eminent English mathematician, was born at Ashford, in Kent, November 23, 1616. He died the 28th of October, 1703, aged 88.

Wollaston William, a distinguished English writer, was born at Coton Clarendon, in Staffordshire, the 26th of March, 1650. He died the 29th of October, 1724.

Woodward John, the celebrated author of a Natural History of the earth.

HISTORIANS.

B

Baker Sir Richard, was born at Sissingherst, in Kent, about the year 1598. He died February 18, 1644-5, and was buried about the middle of the fourth aisle of St. Bride's church, Fleet-street.

Brerewood

Brerewood Edward, a very learned English mathematician and antiquary, was born at Chester, in the year 1565.

F

Fox John, an eminent English divine and church historian, was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1517. He died April 18, 1587, in the 70th year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

Fracastor Jerome. See the Biographic Dictionaries.

Freinshemius John, a most ingenious and learned man, was born at Ulm, in Suabia, in the year 1608. He died in the year 1660.

Fuller Thomas, an eminent English historian and divine, was born at Allvinde, in Northamptonshire, in the year 1608. He died the 16th of August, 1661.

G

Guicciardini Francesco, the celebrated historian of Italy, was born at Florence, March 6, 1482. He died the 27th of May, 1540.

H

Howell James, an English writer, was born at Abernant, in Caermarthenshire, about the year 1596. He died in November, 1666.

Hudson Dr John, editor of Longinus.

Hyde Dr Thomas, a most learned English writer, was born at Billingsley, near Bridgenorth, in Shropshire, the 29th of June, 1636. He died the 18th of February, 1702-3, in the 67th year of his age.

L

L'Estrange Sir Roger, was born at Hunstanton-Hall in the county of Norfolk, the 17th of December, 1616. He died September 11, 1704.

Livius Titus, author of the Roman History.

M

Mabillon John. See Biographic Dictionary.

Macrobius Ambrosius Aurelius Theodosius, an ancient Latin writer.

Maimbourg Lewis, was born at Nancy, in Lorraine, in Germany, in the year 1610. He died the 13th of August, 1686.

Mandevile Sir John, was born at St. Alban's, about the beginning of the 14th century. He died the 17th of November, 1372.

Manseville Bernard De, was born in Holland. He died in January, 1732-3.

Manetho, an ancient Egyptian historian.

Marcellinus Ammianus, an ancient Roman historian.

Mela Pomponius. See Biographic Dictionaries.

Moreri Lewis, was born at Bargemont, a small village in Provence, the 25th of March, 1643. He died July 10, 1680, aged 37 years and 3 months.

Morhof Daniel-George, was born at Wismar, a town in the duchy of Mecklenburgh, the 6th of February, 1639. He died the 30th of July, 1691.

N

Nepos Cornelius, a Latin historian.

O

Onuphrius Panvinior, or *Panavinus*, a celebrated Augustin monk of Italy in the 16th century, was born at Verona, in 1529. He died at Palermo, in Sicily, in 1568, aged 39.

Paris

P

Paris Matthew, a celebrated English historian of the 13th century. He died in 1259.

Platina Bartholomew, a learned Italian, and author of the History of the Popes, was born at Piacenza, a village between Cremona and Mantua, in 1421.

Plutarch, a great philosopher and historian of antiquity.

Polybius, an ancient Greek historian, was born in the fourth year of the 143d Olympiad, or in the 548th year of the building of Rome, or about 200 years before Christ. He died 17 years before the birth of Cicero.

Psalmanazar George, author or compiler of the Ancient Universal History.

Procopius, an ancient Greek historian, was born at Cæsarea, in Palestine.

R

Rapin de Thoyras (Paul De) an eminent historian of France, was born at Castres, in Languedoc, the 25th of March, 1661. He died the 16th of May, 1725.

Ricaut, or *Rycaut Sir Paul*, author of the History of the Turks.

S

Sallustius Caius Crispus, a celebrated Roman historian, was born at Amiternum, a city of Italy, in the year of Rome 669, and before Christ, 85. He died in the year 719.

Sallustius, a famous Greek philosopher.

Socrates, an ecclesiastical historian of the 5th century, was born at Constantinople, in the beginning of the empire of Theodocius.

Sleidan

Sleidan John, an excellent German historian, was born at Sleiden, a small town upon the Confines of the Duchy of Juliers, in 1506. He died in 1556.

Speed John, a well known English historian, was born at Farrington, in Cheshire, about the year 1555. He died the 28th of July, 1629.

Strada Famianus, was born at Rome, the latter end of the 16th century.

Strype John, an English compiler of lives and memoirs, was born at London.

Suetonius, an ancient historian, who wrote the Lives of the Twelve Cæsars.

T

Tacitus Caius Cornelius, a Roman historian.

Thevenot Melchisedec, librarian to the King of France, was born at Paris, in the year 1621. He died in October, 1692.

Thuanus Jacobus Augustus, an illustrious historian of France, was born at Paris, the 9th of October, 1553. He died the 17th of May, 1617.

Thucydides, an ancient Greek historian, was born at Athens, in the second year of the 77th Olympiad, or before Christ, 469. He was put to death at Athens.

U

Vergil Polydore, was born at Urbino, in Italy, in the 15th century.

W

Wheare Degory, professor of history, was born at Jacobstow, in Cornwall, in 1573. He died the 1st of August, 1647.

P H Y S I C I A N S.

B

Boerhaave Herman, one of the most celebrated physicians that this, or perhaps any age has ever produced, was born at Voorhout, a small village in Holland, about two miles distant from the Harlem gates of the city of Leyden, the 31st of December, 1668. He died the 23d of September, 1738.

C

Charleton Walter, a learned physician, was born at Shepton-Mallet, in Somersetshire, February 2, 1619.

Cheyne George, an eminent physician of great learning and abilities, was born in Scotland, in the year 1671. He died at Bath, in the year 1748, in the 72d year of his age.

D

Dickinson Edmund, a celebrated English physician and chemist, was born at Appleton, in Berkshire, the 26th of September, 1624. He died of the stone, the 3d of April, 1707, in the 83d year of his age.

F

Fallopious Gabriel, a most celebrated physician and anatomist of Italy, was born at Modena, in the year 1523. He died the 9th of October, 1562, in the 39th year of his age.

Friend John, a most learned English physician, was born at Croton, in Northamptonshire, in the year 1675. He died of a fever, in London, the 26th of July, 1728, in the 52d year of his age.

Garth

G

Garth Sir Samuel, an amiable poet and physician, author of a poem styled the Dispensary.

Grew Nehemiah, a learned writer and physician.

H

Harvey William, an eminent English physician, who first discovered the circulation of the blood, was born at Folkstone, in Kent, the 2d of April, 1578. He died in June, 1657.

Hoffman Maurice, was born at Furstenwalde, in the Electorate of Brandenburg, the 20th of September, 1621. He died the 22d of April, 1698, in his 77th year.

Hoffman Frederic, an eminent man.

M

Maimonides Moses, a learned Jewish writer.

Malpighi A. arcellus, an eminent Italian physician, was born at Crevalcuore, near Bologna, in Italy. He died the 29th of November, 1694, aged 67.

Mayerne Sir Theodore De, was born the 28th of September, 1573. He died the 15th of March, 1655.

Mead Dr. Richard, was born at Stepney, near London, the 11th of August, 1673. He died the 16th of February, 1754.

P

Petit Peter, a very learned Frenchman, was born at Paris, in 1617. He died in 1687.

Petit Peter, a mathematician of France, was born in 1598. He died the 20th of August, 1667.

Pitcairne Archibald, an eminent Scotch physician, was born at Edinburgh, on Christmas-day, 1652. He died the 13th of October, 1713.

Radcliffe

R

Radcliffe Dr. John, an English physician, was born at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, in 1650. He died the 1st of November, 1714, aged 64.

Redi Francis, an Italian physician, was born at Arozzo, in Tuscany, the 18th of February, 1626. He died the 1st of March, 1697.

Ruysch Frederic, a great anatomist, was born at the Hague, the 23d of March, 1638. He died the 22d of February, 1731, aged 93.

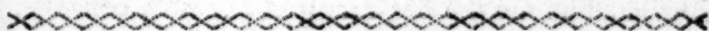
S

Sydenham Thomas, an excellent English physician, was born at Winford Eagle, in Dorsetshire, about the year 1624. He died the 29th of December, 1689.

W

Willis Thomas, an illustrious English physician, was born at Great Bodwin, in Wiltshire, the 27th of January, 1621. He died the 11th of November, 1675.

Wormius Olaus, a learned physician, was born in the year 1588. He died in August, 1654, aged 66 years.



L A W Y E R S.

B

Boetius, an ancient counsellor to one of the Roman emperors.

D

Duaren Francis, an ancient professor of civil law at Bourges, was born at St. Brien, a city of Bretagne,

tagne, in France, in the year 1509. He died in the year 1559.

H

Hale Sir Matthew, a most learned lawyer of the last century, and Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was born at Aldersley, in Gloucestershire, November 1, 1609. He died the 25th of December, 1675.

N

Nicole John, was born at Chartres, in 1600. He died in 1678.

P

Papinian, a celebrated lawyer in the third century.

Prynne William, an eminent English lawyer, was born at Swainswick, Somersetshire, in the year 1600. He died the 24th of October, 1669.

Puffendorf Samuel De, was born at Fleh, a little village near Chemnitz, in Upper Saxony, in 1631. He died the 26th of October, 1694.

S

Sulpicius Severus, an ecclesiastical writer, who flourished about the beginning of the fifth century.

T

Talbot Charles, Lord Talbot, and Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, was born the 3d of December, 1686. He died the 14th of February, 1736-7.

W

Whitelocke Bullstrode, a great English lawyer, was born in Fleet-street, London, the 6th of August, 1605. He died the 28th of January, 1675-6.
Yorke

Y

Yorke Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, was born at Dover, in Kent, December 1, 1690. He died March 6, 1764.

POLITICIANS or STATESMEN.

A

Aristides was an Athenian statesman and general.

C

Constantine the Great, was born at Naissus, a town of Dardania, in the year 272. He died in the year 337, in the 66th year of his age.

Cromwell Thomas, Earl of Essex, an eminent statesman in the reign of Henry VIII.

D

Defoe Daniel, famous for politics and poetry.

E

Elmacinus George, was born in Egypt, towards the middle of the thirteenth century.

H

Hampden John, Esq; was born at London, in the year 1594. He died the 24th of June, 1643.

Harrington James, an eminent political writer, was born in January, 1611. He died at Westminster, September 11, 1677, and was buried in St. Margaret's church.

Herbert Edward, was born at Montgomery Castle, in Wales, in the year 1581. He died the 20th of August, 1648.

Hyde Edward, Earl of Clarendon, and Lord High Chancellor of England, was born at Dinton, near Hindon, in Wiltshire, the 16th of February, 1608. He died the 9th of December, 1673.

L

Ludlow Edmund, was born at Mayden Bradley, in Wiltshire, about the year 1620. He died at Vevay, in 1693, in the 73d year of his age.

M

Mahomet, or *Mahammed*, a celebrated impostor, was born in the year 571, at Mecca, a city of Arabia.

Maintenon Madam De, a most extraordinary French Lady, was born the 27th of November, 1635. She died the 15th of April, 1719.

Marvell Andrew, was born at Kingston upon Hull, in Yorkshire, in the year 1620. He died the 16th of August, 1678, aged 58.

Mary, Queen of England, was born at Greenwich, in Kent, February 18, 1517. She died the 7th of November, 1558, a bloody Papist.

Mary, Queen of Scots, was born the 8th of December, 1542. She was executed within the castle of Fotheringhay, the 8th of February, 1586-7.

Montaigne Michael De, was born in the year 1533. He died in 1592.

Montesquieu Baron, was born at the castle of La Brede, near Bourdeaux, January 18, 1689. He died February 10, 1755, aged 66.

More Sir Thomas, Lord High Chancellor of England, was born in London, in the year 1480. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, July 5, 1535.

N

Needham Marchamont, was born at Burford, in Oxfordshire, in August, 1620. He died in 1678, a true patriot.

O

Oldcastle Sir John, called the good Lord Cobham, the first author, as well as the first martyr among our nobility, was born in the reign of Edward the Third. He was dragged to execution in St. Giles's Fields, as a traytor and a heretic, and hung up in chains alive upon a gallows, and fire being put under him, was burnt to death.

P

Penn William, was born in the parish of St. Catharine, London, October 14, 1644. He died the 30th of July, 1718, in the 74th year of his age.

Peter the Great, was born the 30th of May, 1672. He died the 28th of January, 1725, aged 53.

Petty Sir William, was born at Rumsey, in Hampshire, May 16, 1623. He died December 16, 1687, aged 65 years.

Polyænus, a Greek writer of stratagems in war.

R

Richelieu John Armand du Plessis De, a great Cardinal and Minister of State in France, was born at the castle of Richelieu, the 5th of September, 1585. He died in 1642.

S

Savile Sir Henry, was born at Bradley, near Halifax, in Yorkshire, the 30th of November, 1549. He died the 19th of February, 1621-2.

Somers Lord John, Chancellor of England, was born at Worcester, in 1652. He died the 26th of April, 1716.

Sidney Algernon, was born about the year 1617. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, the 7th of December 1683.

Steel Richard, an English writer, born of English parents, at Dublin, in Ireland.

Sully Maximilian de Bethune, a French Minister, was born the 13th of December, 1569. He died at Villebon, the 22d of December, 1641, aged 82.

T

Temple Sir William, an eminent English statesman, was born at London, about the year 1619. He died towards the end of the year 1700.

Thurloe John, Esq; Secretary of State to the two protectors Oliver and Richard Cromwell, was born at Abbot's-Reading, in the county of Essex, in 1616. He died the 21st of February, 1667-8.

V

Vane Sir Henry, Knight, was born about the year 1612. He was beheaded the 14th of June, 1662.

W

Wenwood Sir Ralph. See Mrs. Macaulay's History of England.

Note, Read the Lives of Sir John Elliot, Hampden, Pym, Lord Ruffel, Algernon Sydney.

W A R R I O R S.

B

BLAKE *Robert*, a famous English admiral, was born August, 1598, at Bridgwater, in Somersetshire. He died the 17th of August, 1657, in the 59th year of his age.

C

Churchill John, Duke of Marlborough, and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, was born at Ashe,

Ashe, in Devonshire, on Midsummer-day, in the year 1650. He died at Windsor Lodge, on the 16th of June, 1722, in the 73d year of his age, and was interred in Westminster Abbey.

Cromwell Oliver, protector of the commonwealth of England, was born in the parish of St John, Huntington, the 25th of April, 1599. He died the 3d of September, 1658, aged somewhat more than 59 years and 4 months.

Cæsar Julius, was born at Rome, the 12th of July, about 90 years before the nativity. He was killed at the Senate-house, on the 15th of March, in the 56th year of his age.

D

Drake Sir Francis, one of our most distinguished naval heroes, was born near Tavistock, in Devonshire, in the year 1545. He died of a bloody-flux, on board his own ship, near the town of Nombre de Dios, in the West-Indies, on the 28th of January, 1595-6. He lived on the sea, died on it, and was buried in it.

E

Edward the Black Prince, so called from wearing black armour, was born June 13, 1330. He died in the 46th year of his age, in his father's lifetime, and was interred in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

M

Miltiades, an Athenian general.

R

Rawleigh Sir Walter, an illustrious Englishman, was born in 1552.

S

Saxe Maurice Count De, Marshal-General of the French armies, was born at Dresden, the 19th of October, 1696. He died the 30th of November, 1750.

Scipio Publius Cornelius.

T

Turenne Henry, was born at Sedan, September 11, 1611. He was killed by a cannon shot, the 2d of July, 1675, aged 64.

ORATORS and RHETORICIANS.

C

Cicero Marcus Tullius, was one of the greatest men of antiquity. He was born on the 3d of January, in the 647th year of Rome, about 107 years before Christ. He was killed on the 7th of December, about ten days from the settlement of the Triumvirate, after he had lived 63 years 11 months and 5 days.

D

Demosthenes, one of the greatest orators of antiquity, if not the greatest, was born at Athens, in the second year of the 101st Olympiad, that is about 370 years before Christ. He died in the 3d year of the 114th Olympiad.

F

Farnaby Thomas, a very eminent grammarian and rhetorician, was born at London, in the year 1575. He died the 12th of June, 1647, in the 72d year of his age.

Fleebier

Flecher Esprit, was born at Perne, in Avignon, the 10th of June, 1632. He died the 16th of February, 1710, in the 78th year of his age.

I

Isocrates, the Greek orator, was born at Athens, in the first year of the 86th Olympiad, that is 436 years before Christ. He died with grief, in the 338th year before Christ, at the age of 98 years.

L

Longinus, the Prince of rhetoricians and critics.

R

Rapin, an excellent writer on eloquence.

T

Themistius, an ancient Greek orator and philosopher.

P O E T S.

B

B*ANKS John*, was bred to the law, and belonged to the society of New Inn.

Blackmore Sir Richard, was born in the year 1653. He died on the 9th of October, 1729.

Boileau Nicholas, a celebrated French poet, was born at Paris, November 1, 1636. He died the 2d of March, 1711, in the 75th year of his age.

Buchanan George, one of the best Latin poets of the 16th century, was born in the parish of Kellernae, in the shire of Lenox, in Scotland, in the month of February, 1506. He died at Edinburgh, the 28th of February, 1582, in the 76th year of his age.

C

Cosmire Matthias Sarbiewski, a Jesuit of Poland, and most excellent Latin poet, was born in the year 1597. He died at Warsaw, the 2d of April, 1640.

Chaucer Geoffrey, one of the greatest, as well as most antient of the English poets, was born in London, in 1328. He died October 25, 1400, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey.

Cockburn Catharine, the daughter of Captain David Trotter, a Scots gentleman, and sea commander in the reign of Charles II. was born in London, August 16, 1679. She died in the year 1749, in the 71st year of her age.

Cowley Abraham, an eminent English poet, was born in the city of London, in the year 1618. He died at a house called the Porch-house, in the town of Chertsey, in Surry, on the 28th of July, 1667, in the 49th year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

D

Dante, an eminent Italian poet, was born at Florence, the 27th of May, 1265. He died in his exile, at Ravenna, in the month of July, 1321.

Davies Sir John, was born at Chisgrove, in Wiltshire, about the year 1570. He died suddenly, of an apoplexy, in the 57th year of his age.

Denham Sir John, an eminent English poet, was born in the city of Dublin, in 1615. He died at his office, near Whitehall, about the 19th of March, 1668, and was interred in Westminster-Abbey.

Dennis John, a celebrated critic, was born in London, in the year 1657. He died in the year 1733, in the 77th year of his age.

Des Barreaux James de Vallec, Lord, a French nobleman, was born at Paris, in the year 1602.

He

He died at Chalon on the Saone, in the year 1674.

Duck Stephen, the thresher and poet, favoured by Queen Caroline

Dyer John, was born at Aberglasney, in Carmarthenshire, South Wales, in the year 1700.

F

Fenton Elijah, an English poet, was born at Shelton, near Newcastle under Line, in Staffordshire. He died at East Hampstead Park, near Oakingham, July 13, 1730.

Flatman Thomas, an English poet of some eminence, was born in Aldersgate-street, London, about the year 1633. He died the 8th of December, 1688.

Fontaine John De La, a very celebrated French poet, was born at Chatteau-Thierry, the 8th of July, 1621. He died the 13th of April, 1695.

G

Gay John, an original poetic genius, was born in the year of the Revolution, 1688, near Barnstaple, in Devonshire. He died December 11, 1732.

H

Homer, the most ancient of the Greek poets, was the father of poetry.

Horatius Quintus Flaccus, an ancient Roman poet, was born the 8th of December, in the year of Rome 689. He died the 17th of November.

Hughes John, a good English poet, was born at Marlborough, in Wiltshire, the 29th of January, 1677. He died the 17th of February, 1719.

I

Johnson Ben, the most celebrated English poet of his time.

Juvenal

Juvenal Decius Junius, a Latin satyrist.

L

Lycophon, a Greek classic author.

M

Machiavel Nicholas, a famous politician.

Matherbe Francis De, a celebrated French poet, was born at Caen, about the year 1555. He died at Paris, in the year 1628.

Manilius Marcus.

Marot Clement, a celebrated French poet, was born at Cahors, in Querci, about the year 1496. He died at Turin, in 1544.

Menander, was born at Athens, the third year of the 109th Olympiad. He died in the third year of the 122d Olympiad.

Milton John, a most illustrious English poet, was born in Bread-street, London, the 9th of December, 1608. He died the beginning of November, 1674.

O

Ogilby John, was born in Edinburgh, in Scotland, the 17th of November, 1600. He died September the 4th, 1676.

Oldham John, an eminent English poet, was born August 9, 1653, at Shipton, near Tedbury, in Gloucestershire. He died the 9th of December, 1683, aged 30.

Orpheus, of Thrace, an ancient Greek poet.

Otway Thomas, a distinguished poet, was born at Trotting, in Suffex, in March, 1651. He died in April, 1685.

P

Pacuvius Marcus, of Brindes, a tragic poet, who was in high reputation about the year of Rome 600, and 154 years before Christ. He died at Tarentum, in the 90th year of his age.

Palingenius

Palingenius Marcellus, a famous Italian poet, who flourished in the 16th century, was born at Stellada, in the Dukedom of Ferrara, upon the southern bank of the river Po.

Persius Aulus Flaccus, an ancient Latin poet.

Petrarch Francis, an Italian, was born at Arezzo, in 1304. He died in July, 1374, aged 70.

Phædrus, an ancient Latin author, was a Thracian, and born some years before Julius Cæsar made himself master of the Roman empire.

Philips Catharine, an English lady of great wit and accomplishments, was born in London, in 1631. She died the 22d of June, 1664.

Philips John, an English poet, was born at Bampton, in Oxfordshire, the 30th of December, 1676. He died the 15th of February, 1708.

Philip Ambrose, an English poet, was descended from an ancient family in Leicestershire. He died in 1748.

Pindar. See Gilbert West, Esq; on the Odes of Pindar.

Pitt Christopher, an English poet, was born in the year 1699. He died in the year 1748.

Plautus Maximus, a monk that collected the Greek epigrams.

Pomfret John, an English poet, was born about the year 1667.

Prior Matthew, an eminent English poet, was born in London, the 21st of July, 1664. He died the 18th of September, 1721, aged 58.

Propertius Sextus Aurelius, an ancient Roman poet, was born at Mevania, a town of Umbria.

Prudentius Quintus Aurelius, an ancient Christian poet, was born in Spain, in the year 348.

Q

Quarles Francis, an English poet, was born in the parish of Rumford, in Essex, in the year 1592. He died in September, 1644.

Quevedo Francisco De, an eminent Spanish author, was born at Madrid, in the year 1570. He died in the year 1645, or 1647.

Quintus Calaber, a Greek poet.

R

Rabelais Francis, was born at Chinon, in the province of Touraine, about the year 1483. He died in 1553.

Rocheſter John Wilmot, was born in April, 1648. He died the 26th of July, 1680, a detestable profligate, a distinguished penitent.

Roscommon Wentworth Dillon, an English poet, was born in Ireland. He died the 17th of January, 1684.

Rouſſeau John Baptiſt, a French poet, was born at Paris, in 1669. He died the 17th of March, 1741.

Rawe Nicholas, was born at Little Berkford, in Bedfordshire, in 1673. He died the 6th of December, 1718.

Kowe Elizabeth, an English lady, was born at Ilchester, in Somersſetshire, September 11, 1674. She died the 20th of February, 1736-7, the most beautiful example to the female sex in the world.

S

Sackville Charles, Earl of Dorset and Middleſex, was born the 24th of January, 1637. He died at Bath, the 19th of January, 1705-6.

Sandys George, was born at Biſhopthorpe, in Yorkſhire, about the year 1578. He died in March, 1643-4.

Sophocles,

Sophocles, was born at Athens, the second year of the 71st Olympiad, that is near 500 years before Christ. He died at Athens.

Shakespeare William, was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, in Warwickshire, in April, 1616. He died in 1616, aged 53.

Shirley James, was born about the year 1594, in London. He died in the year 1666.

Sternhold Thomas, an English poet, was born in Hampshire.

Suckling Sir John, was born at Witham, in Essex, in the year 1613.

Swift Dr. Jonathan, the greatest and meanest of men.

T

Tasso Torquato, an illustrious poet of Italy, was born the 11th of March, 1544. He died the 25th of April, 1595.

Tate Nabum, an English poet, was born in the kingdom of Ireland, about the middle of the reign of King Charles the Second. He died in the year 1716.

Terentius Publius, was born in the year of Rome 560.

Theocritus, an ancient Greek poet.

Theognis, a very ancient Greek poet, was born in the 59th Olympiad, or about the middle of the sixth century before Christ.

Thomson James, an excellent British poet, was born at Ednam, in the shire of Roxburgh, the 11th of September, 1700. He died the 27th of August, 1748.

Tickell Thomas, an English poet, of an elegant genius.

U

Vida Marcus Hieronymus, an illustrious Latin poet, was born at Cremona, in the year 1470. He died September 27, 1566, aged 96.

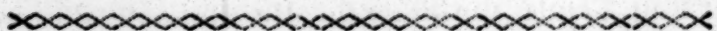
Virgil, the most excellent of the ancient Roman poets, was born the 15th of October, in the year of Rome 684. He died the 22d of September, in his 52d year.

W

Waller Edmund, an English poet, was born at Colehill, the 3d of March, 1605. He died October 1, 1687.

Y

Young Edward Dr. author of the *Night Thoughts*, and one of the most sublime poets in the world. Elevation and grandeur of imagination is the peculiar characteristic of this incomparable man.



GRAMMARIANS, ANTIQUARIANS,
and ARTISTS.

C

C Camden William, author of *Britannia*.
Cooper Samuel, painter to Oliver Cromwell.

D

Dionysius Halicarnessensis.
Dugdale Sir William, an eminent English antiquarian and historian, was born at Shustoke, near Colehill, in Warwickshire, September 12, 1605. He died the 10th of February, 1685-6, in the 81st year of his age.

Erasmus

E

Erasmus Desiderius, a great restorer of letters in the 15th and 16th centuries, and one of the most illustrious men that ever lived, was born at Rotterdam, the 28th of October, 1467. He died the 12th of July, 1536, in the 69th year of his age.

F

Fabricius John Albert, one of the most learned and laborious men of his age, was born at Leipzig, on the 11th of November, 1668. He died at Ham-
burgh, the 3d of April, 1736.

Freigius John-Thomas, was born at Friburg, in Brisgow, and lived in the 16th century. He died at Basil, of the plague, in the year 1583.

Frobenius John, an eminent and learned German printer, was a native of Hammelburg, in Franconia. He died at Basil, in the year 1527.

G

Gellius Aulus, a celebrated grammarian of antiquity.

Goliut James, a great critic.

Grevius John-George, was born January 29, 1632. He died the 11th of January, 1703, in the 71st year of his age.

Gray Lady Jane, an illustrious personage of the Blood Royal of England, by both parents, was born at Broadgate, in Leicestershire, in the year 1537.

Grimaldi John-Francis, a painter of Bologna, was born at Bologna, in the year 1606. He died at Rome, in the year 1680.

Grocyn William, a man eminently learned in his days, was born at Bristol, in the year 1442. He died at Maidstone, in the year 1522, aged 80.

Gronovius

Gronovius John-Frederic, an eminent civilian and historian, was born at Hamburgh, in 1613. He died at Leyden, in the year 1672.

Gronovius James, one of the most learned men of his age, was born at Dauter, October 20, 1645. He died October 21, 1716.

H

Handel George-Frederic, an illustrious master in music, was born at Hall, a city of Upper Saxony, February 24, 1684. He died the 14th of April, 1759, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey.

Heinsius Nicholas.

Hesychius, a very celebrated grammarian of Alexandria.

Holder William, a famous author on harmony of music.

I

Jones Inigo, the celebrated English architect, was born in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, London, about the year 1572. He died at Butleigh, his seat in Somersetshire, October 24, 1672.

K

Kircher Conrad, a great critic.

Kneller Sir Godfrey, a most eminent painter, was born at Lubeck, a city of Holstein, in Denmark, about the middle of the last century.

L

Lely Sir Peter, an excellent painter of the English school, was born at Westphalia, in Germany, in the year 1617. He died at London, in 1680.

Lilly William, was born at Oldham, in Hampshire, about 1466. He died of the plague, in London, in February, 1522, aged 54.

Marshall

M

Marsham Sir John, was born in the parish of St. Bartholomew, in Norfolk, August 23, 1602. He died the 25th of May, 1685.

Michael Angelo da Caravaggio, a celebrated painter, was born at Caravaggio, a village in Milan, in the year 1569. He died in 1609, aged 40.

Michael Angelo Buonarruoti, was born at the castle of Chiusi, in the territories of Arezzo, in Tuscany, in the year 1474. He died at Rome, in the year 1564, aged 90.

Montainus Benedict Arias, was born at Frexenal de la Sierra, in the diocese of Badajox, about the year 1528. He died in 1598, or 1600.

Montfaucon Berdard Dé, was born at Roquetaillade, in the diocese of Alat, January 17, 1655. He died the 21st of December, 1741, aged 87.

Moyle Walter, Esq; was born in Cornwall, in the year 1672. He died the 9th of June, 1721.

Magliabechi Anthony, was born at Florence, October 28, 1633.

P

Parrhasius, a celebrated antique painter of Ephesus.

Pasor Matthias, a Christian Lexicographer.

Peiresc Nicholas Claude Fabri, an illustrious genius.

Petavius Dionysius, was born at Orleans, August 21, 1583. He died at Paris, the 11th of December, 1652, aged 69 years.

Phalaris, a celebrated tyrant of antiquity, was born at Astypalea, a city of Crete.

Phidias, an exquisite Greek sculptor.

Picart Bernard, a famous engraver, was born at Paris, in 1673. He died in 1733, aged 60.

Pitiscus Samuel a very learned man, was born at Zulphen, a town in the Low Countries, in 1637. He died in 1717, aged 80.

Plantin Christopher, a celebrated printer, was born near Tours, in 1533. He died in 1598, aged 65.

Pouffin Nicholas, an eminent French painter, was born at Andel, a little city in Normandy, in the year 1594. He died in 1665.

Priscianus, an eminent grammarian of antiquity, was born at Cæsarea

Protogenes, a famous ancient painter.

Q

Quintilianus Marcus Fabius, was born in the beginning of the reign of Claudius Cæsar, about the year of Christ 42. See a beautiful account of him in Rollin's Preface to his Institutions, 8vo.

R

Rembrandt Van Rein, an eminent painter, was born near Leyden, in 1606. He died in 1668.

Renaudot Eusebius, a French writer, was born at Paris, in 1646. He died in 1720.

Reuchlin John, was born at Pforzheim, in 1450. He died in 1522.

Richardson Samuel, was born in the year of the Revolution, 1688. He died the 4th of July, 1761.

Rigaltius Nicholas, a very ingenious and learned man, was born at Paris, in 1577. He died in 1654.

Rochefoucault Francis, a great genius among the French, was born in 1613, and died in 1680.

Rubens Sir Peter-Paul, the prince of the Flemish painters, was born at Cologne, in 1577. He died in 1640.

S

Salmasius Claudius, was born in the year 1588. He died the 3d of September, 1653.

Schmidt, was born at Delitzsch, in Misnia, 1560. He died in 1637.

Schrevelius Cornelius, author of a Greek Lexicon.

Schurman Anna-Maria, a learned lady in Holland.

Selden John, was born at Salvinton, near Terring, in Suffex, December 16, 1584. He died the 30th of November, 1654.

Sennertus Andrew, was born at Wittemberg, in 1535. He died in 1619, aged 84.

Spelman Sir Henry, an eminent English antiquarian, was born at Cengham, near Lynn, in Norfolk, about the year 1561. He died the 25th of July, 1643.

Stephanus Byzantinus.

Stephens, the name of several learned printers.

Stobæus Joannes, an ancient Greek writer.

Sturmius James, was born at Strasburgh, in the year 1489. He died October the 30th, 1553.

Sturmius John, was born at Sleida, in Eifel, near Cologne, October 1, 1507. He died the 3d of March, 1589.

Suidas, a collector of antiquities.

Sylburgius Fredericus, was born at Marpurg, in the Landgraviate of Hesse, in 1546. He died in 1596.

Symmachus, a translator of the Scriptures.

T

Thornhill Sir James, an eminent English painter, was born in the year 1676. He died in 1732.

Tintoretto,

Tintoretto, a great Italian painter, was born at Venice, in the year 1512. He died in the year 1637.

Tooke Andrew, a learned English schoolmaster, was born in London, in the year 1673. He died the 20th of January, 1731.

F I N I S.

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